THE COMMONWEALTH NUMBER 2/6

THE SPHERE

MAY 23, 1964 VOL. CCLVII. NO. 3338.

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Cover: A view along the covered walk over the moat at the Commonwealth Institute, which was opened in London two years ago. This is the entrance to a multi-galleried exhibition of displays from every country of the Commonwealth. A microcosm of the world-wide community is presented by dioramas, photo-murals, models and paintings. It is housed in an exciting structure with blue glass curtain walling and a soaring hyperbolic roof

EXPRESSION OF COMMONWEALTH

The Sphere, to mark Commonwealth Day 1964, is devoting the whole of this issue to consideration of Commonwealth matters. It is not a detailed survey but an expression of individual opinions about various aspects of the Commonwealth at present and in the future by writers from many parts of it. Criticism and controversy have been invited and the tone is set by the forthright introduction by that most distinguished Commonwealth citizen, Sir Learie Constantine. The *Times* article earlier this year by "A Conservative" is mentioned several times and Stanley Mays examines the attitude towards, and ignorance of, the Commonwealth by the British people. To those seeking a proper understanding of the emergent nations, the two articles on Africa—one of which explains the reason for one-party states—will be of special interest. In considering groups of countries or the broader sweeps of Commonwealth activities, the intention has been to stimulate thought before the important Prime Ministers' conference in July.

In order to fit in the widest range of topics, the regular features of *The Sphere* have been omitted. They will continue as usual next week.

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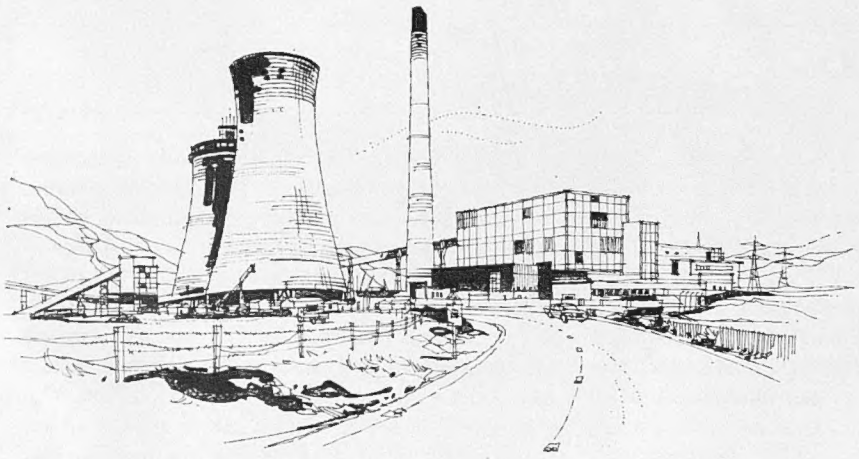

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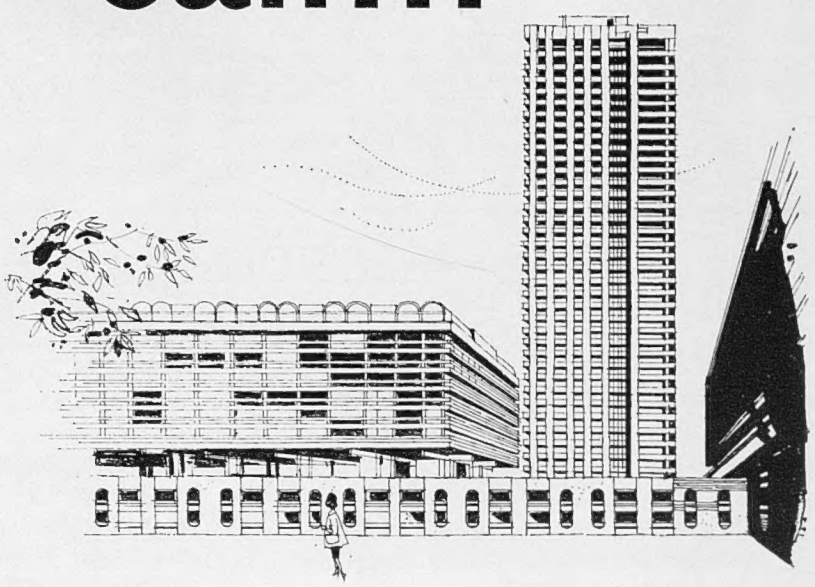

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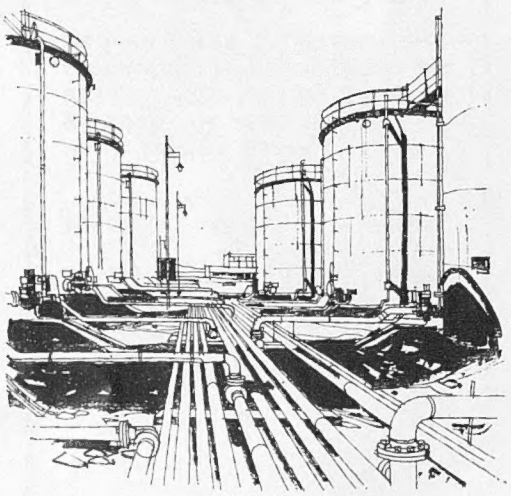

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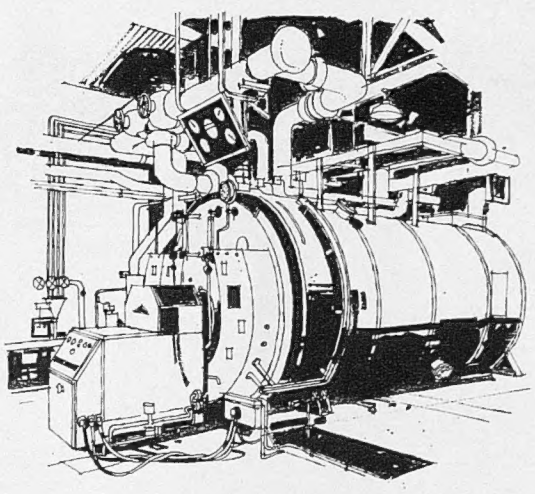

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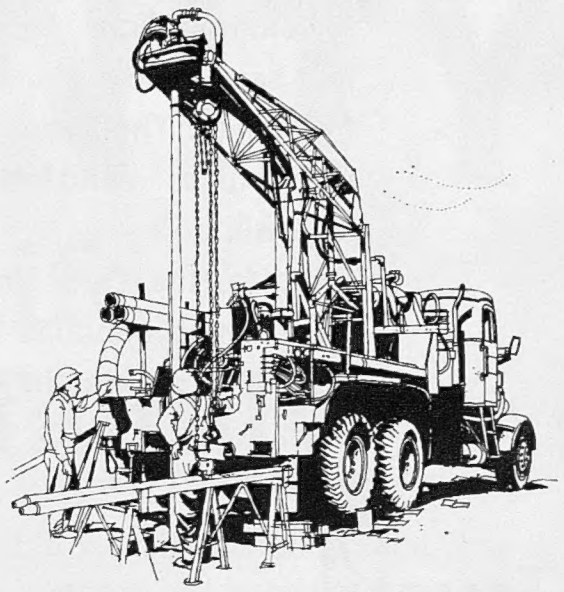
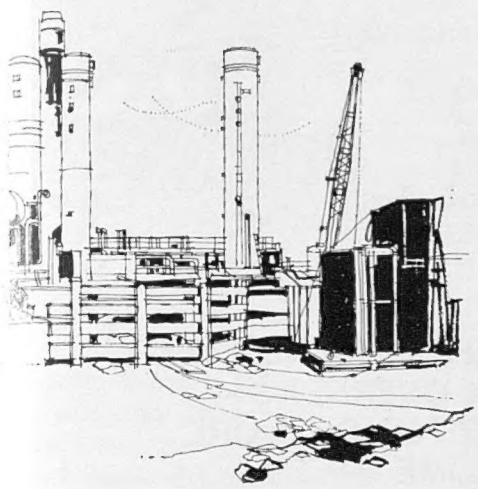


● drill it

● erect it



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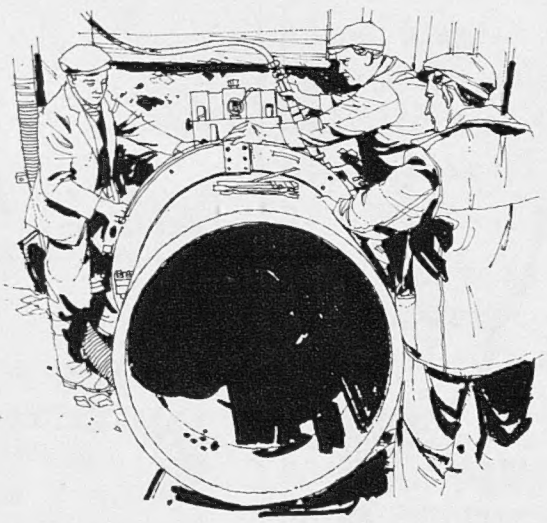
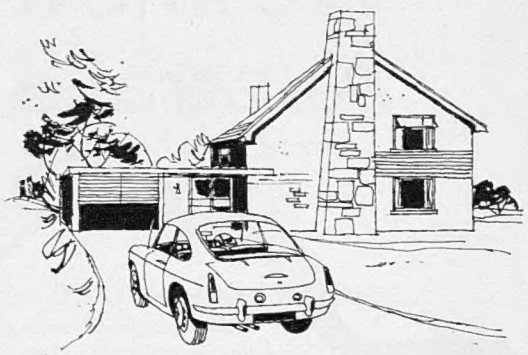


● accommodate it



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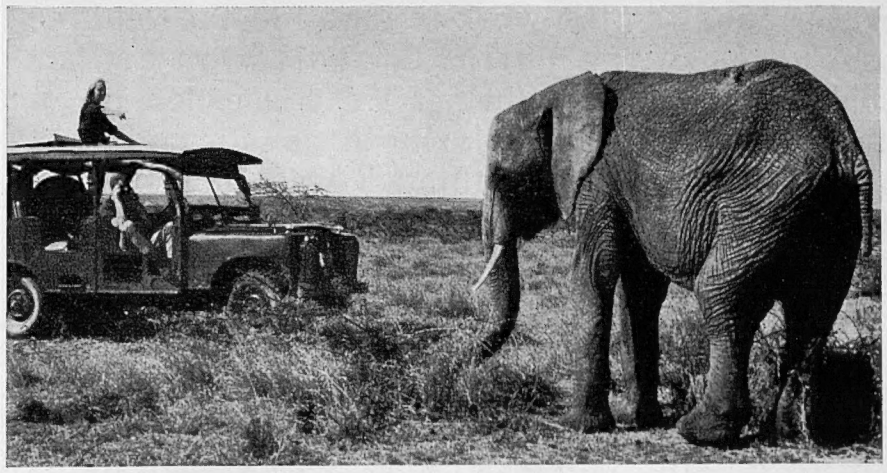

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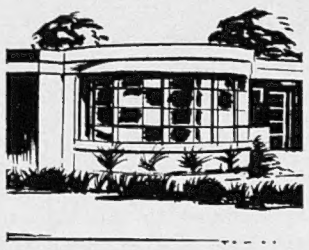

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SCOTLAND in three weeks. That was the problem we set ourselves. Clearly we could not attempt to cover the whole country, so the basic idea was to work on an itinerary which would provide any traveller visiting the country for the first time with a general impression of the highlands and lowlands, lochs, glens, east and west coasts, plus recreational pursuits such as golf and fishing.

Some will decide to take one or other of the Car/Sleeper rail services, but if first impressions are best, we intend repeating our first visit, travelling by road and crossing the border at Carter Bar on the Northumberland boundary. By spending the previous night at the *Percy Arms*, Otterburn, we shall review Scotland in the freshness of the morning light. Those who enter Scotland the previous forenoon should know of the nine-bedroom *Wolfelee Hotel* at Bonchester Bridge. Here Mr and Mrs R. Fawcett have, within, established a most attractive haven.

Continuing north west it is worth the diversion to travel via Jedburgh, Kelso, Greenlaw and then over the wild Lammermuir Hills to Haddington and North Berwick. The latter with its new neighbour Gullane is famous for golf. Recommended hotels are North Berwick—*The Marine*, its smaller relative the *Royal* or for a small friendly family hotel our choice is *Blenheim House Hotel*. At Gullane, that lovely Lutyens specimen *Greywalls* is the selection, a country house hotel where furniture, furnishings, good food and wine are always in evidence.

Edinburgh needs no introduction, only a word of warning to book one's accommodation at one of the following, well ahead. The *Caledonian* and the *North British* (British Transport Hotels), the *George* (another of Edinburgh's best), the *Carlton* (Trust House) or that hotel of fine vintage character the *Roxburghe*. In a lesser tariff the following are sound choice—the *Maitland* close to Princes Street railway station—B. and B. from 32s 6d. *Scotia* in Great King Street—B. and B. from 30s. *Abercromby*—B. and B. 27s 6d to 35s, or for those who prefer to be, say, ten minutes' run from Princes Street by car or bus, choose from *Braids Hills Hotel* (close to golf course), B. and B. from 37s 6d or the small *Dorling Private Hotel* (near the Zoological Gardens), where Miss G. Hurford looks after all her guests personally, even to the cooking, and her charges are 10/12 gns weekly, B. and B. 25s, 30s.

When the new Firth of Forth bridge is open, there will be a greater incentive to visit that south coast of Scotland facing the Firth of Forth.

The hotels we are always happy to revisit are *Lundin Links Hotel* and *Rufflets* at St. Andrews. The golfing appeal in each case is obvious but at each hotel the resident owners are keenly interested in the well being of their guests so, for happy family holidays, restful or energetic, both can be well recommended.

Sands, sunshine and invigorating sea air are a feature of Scotland's east coast so, taking the car ferry or bridge from Newport-on-Tay to Dundee, the *Bruce Hotel* overlooking golf links and sea at Carnoustie is a sound objective. Of recent years, this long established hotel has developed with the times, more private bathrooms added and in both cuisine and cellar international standards have been effected.

Leaving the coast road beyond Montrose, Scotland's scenic charm begins to unfold itself if one takes the B974 across to Banchory.

The drive along Deeside is ever fascinating, but if you can spare the time, make a north west diversion via Alfold to *Kildrummy Castle Hotel*, one of Scotland's tucked-away charms. For a restful holiday in the lap of luxury, with food and wine to tone with the surroundings, this country home hotel overlooking the ruined castle is a dream spot, the more so when wandering through the rock and water gardens. From Kildrummy one can drop down to Ballater and Braemar where happy memories will draw us to the *Invercauld Arms Hotel* which Mrs F. H. Andrews so ably manages. Refreshed and reinvigorated by Highland air and good food we shall relish the next day's 40-mile run via The Devil's Elbow to Spittal of Glenshee (an attractive alternative stop to Braemar is *Dalmunzie House Hotel*, 1 mile private carriage way off the main road).

And so to Pitlochry which, apart from its annual festivity, is an excellent holiday base. Of the varied hotels, our personal recommendations are at the moment confined to the following—*Atholl Palace Hotel*, a Scottish hotel landmark, with so many amenities that it can be considered a holiday resort in itself. *Fisher's* in the main street is where they cater for both the individual tourist as well as for coach parties but the latter are so highly organised that the former are rarely aware of their existence.

Continuing northwards towards Inverness, the following hotels are on our list for a meal or the night. Kincraig—*Ossian Hotel*, Carrbridge—*Carrbridge Hotel*, Tomatin—*Freeburn Hotel*. A rewarding diversion, either prior to, or at Carrbridge is to turn off to Grantown-on-Spey, a first-rate holiday headquarters for Spey-side, where the *Grant Arms Hotel*, open from Easter to October, well lives up to its four-star appellation.

From here we shall proceed to Nairn, where golf, sands and seaside are holiday attractions. Hotel? Our spotlight is on the *Golf View Hotel* or the *Newton Hotel* both rated four star.

Inverness is known as the capital of the Highlands and is thus a good centre for touring. *The Station Hotel* (British Transport Commission) is the biggest hotel but note the *Royal*, a Trust House, or in the two-star price range the *Kingsmills Hotel* in Domfield Road. Inverness stands at the head of the Caledonian Canal and we know of no more beautiful stretch of roadway than that running westwards to Fort William.

Like a good cherry it is worth more than one bite at, so our plan is to make for Drumnadrochit, 15 miles out from Inverness, and stay at the cosy *Lewiston Arms*, whose visitors each year embrace fishing enthusiasts, touring motorists and Loch Ness optimists. *(To be continued)*

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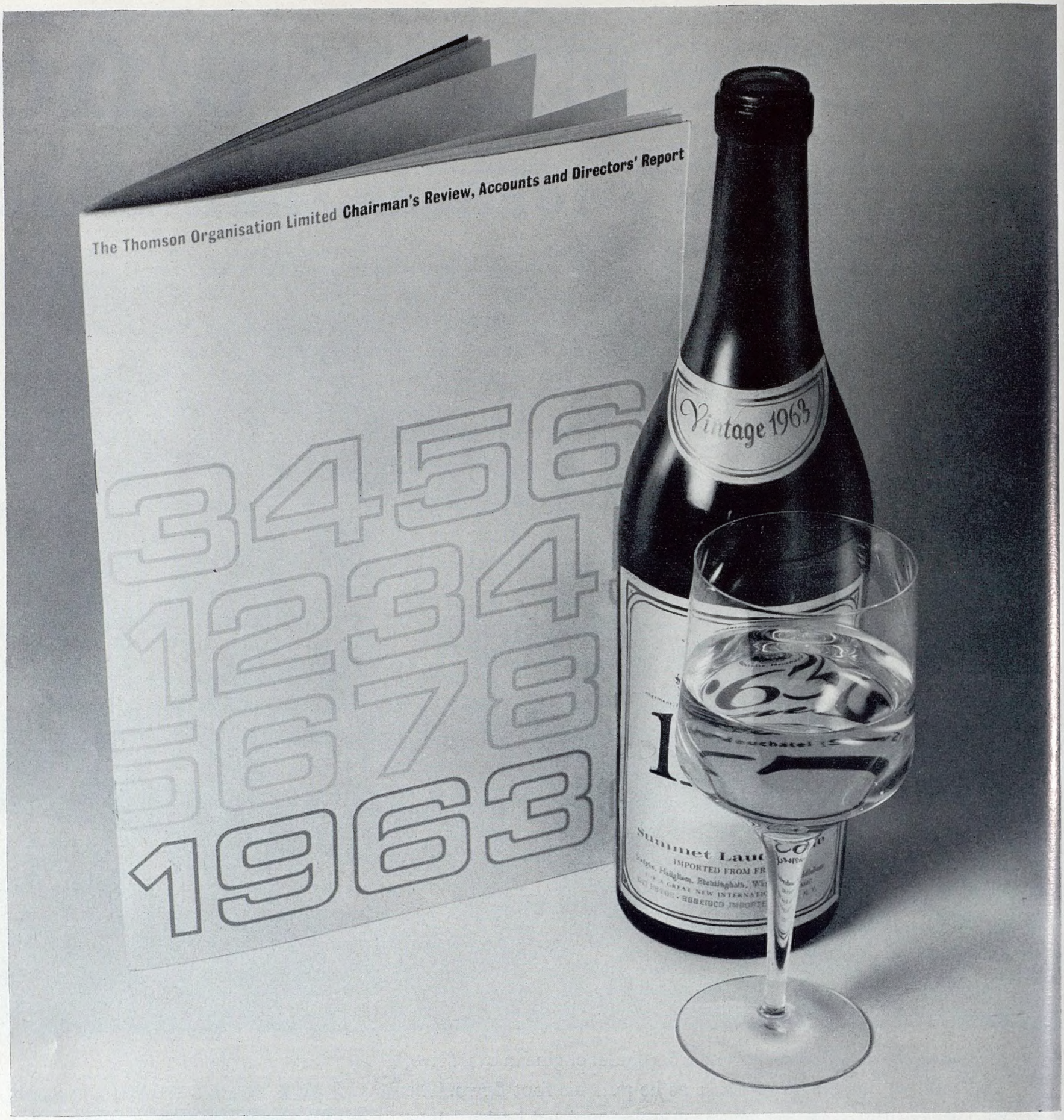

A very good year...

Continued vigorous growth and record profits are referred to by Lord Thomson of Fleet, Chairman of The Thomson Organisation Ltd., in his Annual Review for 1963, from which the following are some salient points.

For the first time profit has passed the £5,000,000 mark — a milestone in the history of the Group. Profit for the year of £5,111,483 showed an improvement of £456,523 over 1962.

The liquid position of the Group has shown a marked improvement in the year, at the end of which current assets exceeded current liabilities by £3,583,972. Compared with the net cost of the dividend of 8.82d. per 5/- share the cash flow was equivalent to 28.76d. per Ordinary Share.

Last year I referred to the long-term strength given to the Company through its planned pattern of diversification. It gives me satisfaction to report no slackening in the Organisation's continued vigorous growth. Whatever criteria are used, the scale of the Company's operations has virtually doubled over a five-year period.

The newspaper business – and, generally speaking, this is the major activity in which the Organisation is engaged – is not usually considered a growth industry. Despite this, ours is very definitely a growth business. In 1959 we had to face the problem of replacing the inevitable reduction in television profit by diversification and growth in our other activities. This we have accomplished. Our profit from non-television activities will have more than trebled in the period 1959-1964. I think that by any standards this can be regarded as substantial growth.

It is too early in the year to make firm prognostications about 1964 trading results, but present indications are that the Organisation's overall profit for 1964 will be in excess of that for 1963. In the longer term, there is tremendous scope for further development both in existing activities and in new acquisitions.

A final dividend of 14% is proposed on the Ordinary Shares, making a total for the year of 24%.

Copies of the Chairman's Review, Accounts and Directors' Report for 1963 are available from the Company Secretary, Thomson House, 200 Gray's Inn Road, London W.C.1.

THE THOMSON ORGANISATION LIMITED

Volume CCLVII. No. 3338 LONDON, May 23, 1964

THE SPHERE

With which are incorporated *The Graphic* and *Black & White*

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Queen Elizabeth is the second monarch of Britain to be the Head of the Commonwealth. Her father was given the title in 1949, when the post-war emergence of Commonwealth countries began. This photograph of the Queen was taken in 1961 shortly before she set out for her tour of India and Pakistan, two Republics which demonstrated in ample manner how Queen Elizabeth is personally appreciated as the Symbol of The Commonwealth

SYMBOL OF COMMONWEALTH

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IS IT WORTH WHILE? *By* SIR LEARIE CONSTANTINE

Above: Students waiting outside the National Union of Students in London. Here the Union runs a Labour Exchange to find jobs for students so that they can supplement their grants

Top: At the Royal Commonwealth Society in London, Lord John Hope (centre), the Chairman of its Council, entertains Trade Commissioners from India, Kenya, Uganda, Australia and Nigeria

Top right: Mr Chevrier, the High Commissioner for Canada, and other Commonwealth representatives at the annual ceremony at the Commonwealth Air Forces memorial at Runnymede on the Thames

If I were asked the question: "Is the Commonwealth worth while?" and the answer had to be "yes," or "no," my reply would certainly be in the affirmative. But this may be so because I misinterpret the meaning of the term or the intention of those who invented the Commonwealth. Let us examine the situation, as I see it and always have seen it.

"Commonwealth" is strictly defined as the body politic; the public; a republican state; the form of government which existed in England from the death of Charles I in 1649 to the abdication of Richard Cromwell in 1659. Wealth in the word "Commonwealth" means strictly "well-being." These definitions from a standard English dictionary I take not to admit of controversy.

The Commonwealth under review here is that comprising countries that have opted to remain within the British system, following the British system of parliamentary government and democratic control and basically the British system of law. The eldest being Canada, Australia, New Zealand and, until recently, South Africa. The last-named, for reasons which are generally understood, if not appreciated, decided to opt out of the Commonwealth. Parts of the Colonial Empire have through their very control by the British Government operating under the umbrella of the Colonial Office been accepted as being members of the Commonwealth with their mouthpiece centred at Whitehall.

The right of freedom achieved at independence gave many of these erstwhile colonies the privilege of local decisions, and many have remained Commonwealth members *simpliciter*, while others have adopted a republican form of government under the Crown, as Head of the Commonwealth, as for instance India and Tanganyika. Any examination of Commonwealth relations therefore brings one into the field of "wealth" meaning strictly "well-being." There is nothing else to it.

Great Britain has for a number of years operated—as the senior in the British Common-

wealth—a system of Commonwealth preferences which make life easier for trading between members and the United Kingdom. The operations in the colonies were geared to the British system and, it is not an exaggeration to say, were related overall and subservient to the policies of the British Government. Members of the Commonwealth and colonies were able to move freely without let or hindrance in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The creation of the Irish Republic required a change of title and Northern Ireland was distinguished and introduced.

However much therefore the prevailing trend is to criticise, one has to admit several items on the credit side. But it is the relation to the attitude of other Commonwealth members—one to the other—that needs examination.

One Prime Minister of a newly independent territory describing the Commonwealth at the Prime Ministers' Conference of 1962 said that they formed a group of independent territories operating independently, each owing allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen. This description is so to say " on the ball," for an examination of the figures relating to inter-trading between members of the Commonwealth—excluding Great Britain—would show, whatever else it does, the absence of " well-being." The exclusion of Great Britain from the general criticism must be modified in the light of the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962.

An examination shows this Act in practice is a " Colour Bar Act." One point only shall I make to justify this statement and it relates to a non-Commonwealth country—Ireland. It is common knowledge that Irish citizens or citizens of Eire have always crossed and re-crossed into Britain. It is common knowledge, too, that coloured citizens of the Commonwealth also availed themselves of the privilege and enriched Britain and their own countries by the process. Yet the British Government have by this act prevented coloured Commonwealth citizens from coming into the United Kingdom without permission, while no such limitation is placed on foreign nationals. It may be argued that the Act applies equally as much to nationals of New Zealand, Australia or Canada, as to Africa, India, Pakistan or the West Indies. That may be true; but is it the whole truth? Is there any need, with their high standards of living, for Canadians, Australians or New Zealanders to emigrate? Or is it equitable to make comparisons between those branches of the Commonwealth and the others—where the populations are massive, industries few, markets limited even for what they can produce and emigration purely for survival has become a major industry? That is not all. If Commonwealth means common " well-being," and the British Government have had to impose restrictions for whatever reasons, except on colour lines, what help has Great Britain demanded from the more prosperous members to help in solving a Commonwealth problem?

Australia is under-populated. She invites aliens or citizens of countries with which we were at war not so long ago to come to Australia, where a good clean open-door life awaits them. There is nothing wrong with that. In fact here is the illustration of her efforts to fill up vast spaces and create a great country. For what reason then has Australia excluded the coloured citizens of the world—if not expressly because of colour? And what of Canada? Her position is the same as Australia, if a little less so. Neither has come to the aid of Britain in solving over-population in many branches of the Commonwealth. So in truth there is no community of interests—there is no Commonwealth. But obviously there is need for something—and I say there is need for a Commonwealth. Many of us who are pro-Commonwealth interpreted Britain's efforts to get into the Common Market as the signal for deserting the Commonwealth. It seems a fair comment. But it is also fair to say that Britain could not desert what in fact did not exist. Her failure to join the Six therefore as far as we are concerned is a blessing and an opportunity. Will she take it?

There are so many things we of the Commonwealth have in common. Our customs co-relate, as do our thinking, our language, our education. There is for example no game that is typically West Indian and the same applies to Australia and New Zealand. Canada is the only Dominion in the Commonwealth that opts for baseball. But then she is on the American doorstep. The only thing that divides us is colour. In spite of the hurdles placed in the way of advance of coloured people, we have up to now done a good job. Take away all barriers and there is a great contribution to come from us. The Commonwealth can inspire this, but it can only be done on the basis of equality and fair dealings. Together we can be a real force in the Councils of the world. Schooled as we are in tolerance and peaceful existence we have a share to contribute. We shall eventually do so together with others, or we shall do so on our own. It would be a pity to split our forces, yet that is the picture which we see at the present time.

All the coloured peoples of the world are demanding and fighting for their rights of self-expression. There is no turning back now—if there are people base enough to desire it. Once coloured countries and coloured people come to the conclusion that purely for reason of colour they are denied the elementary rights of human existence and human dignity the pitch will have been prepared for a holocaust. The Commonwealth properly operating can save the world from this calamity. There is no limit to what we can do together. A coloured man and a white man scaled the highest mountain in the world together. What are we waiting for?

All the articles in this issue are contributed, and as is the case with our regular weekly feature " The Voice of the Commonwealth," the views expressed are not necessarily those of the Editor of The Sphere.

MYTH AND REALITY

By **STANLEY MAYS,**
A British specialist in Commonwealth affairs

In the second of the recent soul-searching, if not breast-beating, articles by " A Conservative " in *The Times* of London, the writer declared that the Commonwealth had " really become a gigantic farce." Most people, he added, knew this and in their hearts despised the politicians who kept the farce going. The reaction in the correspondence columns ranged from a welcome for this " glorious hurricane of blistering common sense " to a nostalgic recall of the days of Clive. Almost at the same time another correspondence was taking place in the *Daily Telegraph* on Britain's " broken pledges " to Southern Rhodesia and her " appeasement " of African nationalism.

Certainly for some people in recent years a sturdy faith in the Commonwealth has almost been choked by its enveloping mythology. That there should be myths about the Commonwealth is hardly surprising; it has no dogma, almost no ritual, and is lenient to heresy. The most staunch upholders of the Commonwealth idea (in Britain) are apt to admit that they are swayed by emotion. There is still much ignorance and lack of interest in the Commonwealth. The myth needs pruning.

It is not so much that the maps in my *New School Atlas* of the mid-twenties are now as out of date as " the world in 1100 " or " in 1648." When people of my generation—in their fifties—stood in the playground as children to salute the flag on Empire Day, much of the meaning of empire had already gone. The red was still splashed across the map, but we sang Kipling's aptly named *Recessional* with a kind of morbid joy.

> Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
> Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!

Yet in another way our imagination lagged behind the changing reality. Growing up in the '30's we felt a kinship with those who had chosen to spend their lives in British territory overseas, but not with the people—at least, if they were coloured—among whom our own kind settled down or served.

Even after the shake-up of ideas and foreign travel in the Second World War, there was an astonishing ignorance at home about the Commonwealth. The Colonial Office sponsored a survey in 1948—a year after India, Pakistan and Burma had become independent. Out of a representative cross-section of nearly 2,000 adults of all ages drawn from all classes and all parts of the country, 38 per cent. could name no colonies at all. In the professional, managerial and higher clerical classes only 64 per cent. knew the difference between a Colony and a Dominion. The West Indies was the best-known (probably because of cricket). Of the general sample, 22 per cent. said the colonies paid taxes—in 1948!—to support the people of Britain, while 33 per cent. were not sure. Seventy-nine per cent. said we should be worse off without the colonies, and half the people who thought we should be better off were against spending the British taxpayer's money on them. Only 55 per cent. felt it was any concern of theirs how the colonies were governed.

I can find no comparable recent survey to show how knowledge of the Commonwealth has increased in the past 16 years. Certainly attitudes have changed. Events have forced themselves upon the public attention, below the level of administrators, politicians, the better educated and the socially conscious. Any family with a boy in Kenya or Cyprus during " the troubles " must have been aware of surging nationalisms. Many even felt an undercurrent of sympathy for those who seemed driven to murder in order to get rid of British rule.

But since then the speed of " decolonisation," the awful example of the Congo, the growth of one-party authoritarian rule and loss of civil liberties in Ghana, the dismantling of so much that was built up with pride in the Central African Federation and, in spite of all this, the repeated " anti-colonialist " attacks on British policy have caused much bitterness and disillusionment. Now, when in the last six months or so there have been active threats to the very existence of Malaysia, Cyprus, Zanzibar, Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda, some people ask: Was it worth while? Does the Commonwealth mean anything now? Can it survive?

For some people the crucial test of Commonwealth survival has been the export of parliamentary institutions. These, as *we* know them, have disappeared in Ghana and Pakistan. One-party states are becoming the rule in Africa. But can we really maintain that their governments are not governing by consent of the majority? As Patrick Gordon Walker has asked, do we judge the new Commonwealth countries by United Kingdom standards today, or by the lower standards of democracy through which we ourselves painfully evolved? Tampering with the independence of the judiciary, as President Nkrumah has done, is obviously a more serious matter for a Commonwealth country. But the harm may not be irreparable.

Gradually, the idea of a uniform Commonwealth of like-minded people is giving way to the ideal of diversity. Colour has become the most potent source of disagreement. But in priding ourselves on upholding the principles of a multi-racial society, let us remember that we in Britain are sometimes criticised for accepting coloured people, but not making them feel welcome. And there are still too many cases of colour discrimination in the politest way, especially employment.

Yet an enormous change has taken place in the last few years. Today there are 42,000 Commonwealth students in Britain, mostly from Africa, Asia and the West Indies. One in ten of our university population comes from overseas. The Commonwealth Education Conferences (at Oxford in 1959 and at New Delhi in 1962) gave a big impetus to the cross-fertilisation of minds through scholarships and post-graduate research fellowships. Young people in Britain—especially teachers—are being encouraged to see service abroad in a developing Commonwealth country as part of a normal career. The Government, with support from all parties, is urging more and more contacts between Commonwealth countries through the professions. What they are pursuing is certainly intangible, and it may be part of the myth. But it was Burke who said, of the policy Britain should follow after the loss of the American colonies, that if we did not " stretch and expand our minds to the compass of their object, be well assured that everything about us will dwindle by degrees, until at length our concerns are shrunk to the dimensions of our minds."

Above: " Land of Hope and Glory " was the caption to this picture of British children celebrating Empire Day in *The Sphere* of May 25, 1929. It illustrated an article by the Earl of Meath, the Founder of Empire Day. He related how the observance of the Day started in Ontario in Canada in 1897 to mark the birthday of Queen Victoria, May 24. In the following years Lord Meath pressed the idea on the British Government and on May 24, 1904, the first important meeting was held in London to support Empire Day. After the last war Empire Day was transformed into Commonwealth Day

Right: From *The Sphere* of May 30, 1914: " Empire Day in London—Schoolchildren saluting the Union Jack." Empire Day was regarded as an exercise in patriotism for British children

Centre right: May, 1964: members of the Children's Little Theatre from India, now one of the independent countries of the Commonwealth, arrive in Britain

Above: At the last meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London in 1962 are, seen with the Queen at Buckingham Palace, from left, seated: Mr Holyoake (New Zealand), Mr Nehru (India), Mr Diefenbaker (Canada), Mr, now Sir Robert, Menzies (Australia), Field Marshal Ayub Khan (Pakistan) and Mr Macmillan (Britain). Standing, from left: Mr Kawawa (Tanganyika), Dr Williams (Trinidad), Sir Milton Margai (Sierra Leone), Sir Abubakar Balewa (Nigeria), Sir Alexander Bustamante (Jamaica), Sir Roy Welensky (Central African Federation), Tun Abdul Razak (Malaya), Mr Goka (Ghana), Mr Fernando (Ceylon) and Archbishop Makarios (Cyprus). Since then there have been changes in some governments. This year's meeting due in July will be attended for the first time as full members by Tanganyika-Zanzibar, Uganda and Kenya. Malaya is now incorporated with Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah in Malaysia. Scheduled for full independence this year are Malawi (Nyasaland) and Zambia (Northern Rhodesia)

Below: Mr Kenneth Kaunda, Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia, receives a cheque for £15,000 from the Nottingham Freedom from Hunger Committee

ROOM FOR GOOD SENSE

By **HERBERT MISHAEL,**
London Correspondent, The Age, *Melbourne*

272 The Old Dominions, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, received a nasty jolt two years ago when they finally realised that Britain was determined to join the European Common Market if she could possibly do so. They have never really recovered from the shock, and it has influenced their conduct ever since. They have been increasingly sceptical of the Commonwealth connection, and more and more inclined to stand upon their own feet and to go their own way. In trade, defence and even cultural matters the Old Dominions have been tending to look towards America.

Canada has looked on, not indifferently, but with a kind of paralysed fascination, as the Commonwealth has continued on its course of change, Australia has found it difficult to conceal a good deal of impatience, even intolerance, towards some of the newly created independent members of the Commonwealth, and New Zealand has been somewhat bewildered to find its links with Britain and certain members of the Commonwealth becoming more tenuous as the months have sped by.

Rightly or wrongly, more people in the Old Dominions have been finding themselves in the same frame of mind as " A Conservative " in his recent controversial articles on "A Party In Search of a Pattern": the Old Dominions have no present real ties with Britain other than such as history might have left between any two foreign nations, and their ties with the Commonwealth have weakened to the verge of disintegration. These are unpalatable truths but nothing is to be gained by avoiding them.

All the evidence is there to support the contention that the present position of the Old Dominions in the Commonwealth is unhappy, uneasy and uncomfortable. The Australian and Commonwealth elder statesman, Lord Casey, put the viewpoint of the Old Dominions fairly well recently when he told the Royal Commonwealth Society in London that the Commonwealth today was at a low level of co-operation. It had no general agreement on trade, defence, or international issues at the United Nations or elsewhere. The member countries, by the differences of their views, largely cancelled each other out.

Lord Casey summarised not only the Australian outlook but the viewpoint of the Old Dominions as a whole when he added that the Commonwealth had become nothing much more than an association of completely independent countries. Each went their own way acting on their own short-term interests.

A Canadian spokesman in a recent survey of Canada's position in the Commonwealth expressed the view that now Britain was turning again to the Commonwealth since she had her entry into Europe temporarily blocked by General de Gaulle, Canadians were inclined to look with a feeling of caution towards the former mother country and with a certain coolness towards the Commonwealth association. Many Canadians were more interested in North America.

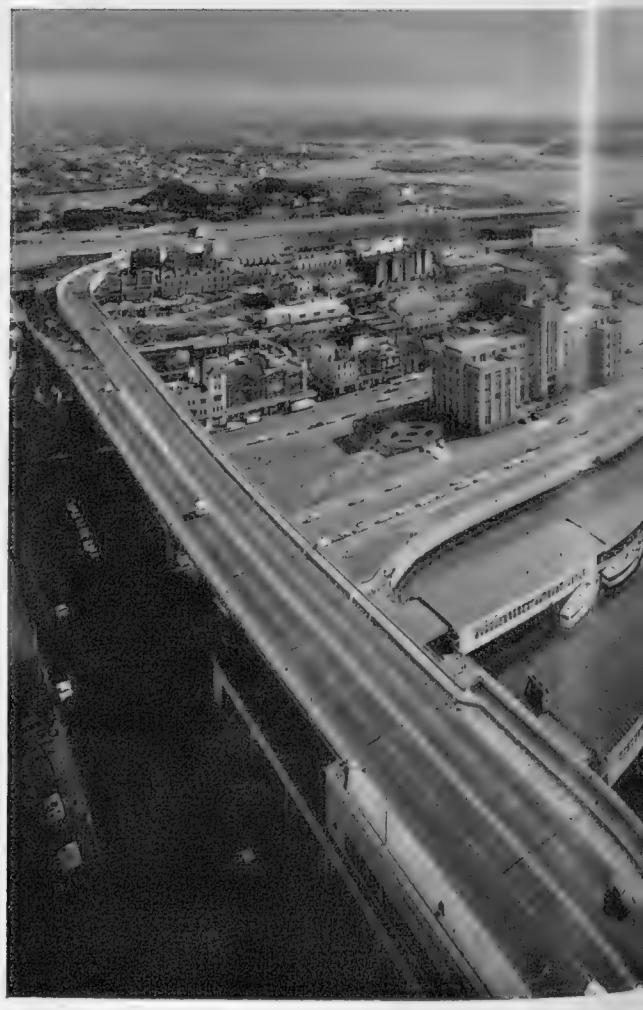
Nothing emphasises more the drift away from the mother country and from the Commonwealth by the Old Dominions than the question of trade. Canada, Australia and New Zealand have all recently published trade figures which point to a steady downward trend in the importance of both Britain and the Commonwealth as a market for goods and as a supplier. The fact is that Britain's attempt to enter EEC caused the Old Dominions to look farther afield for markets for their products, to America, Russia, Communist China, Japan and West Germany and with these countries they have been carrying on ever-growing volumes of trade. They will continue to do so.

They have looked outside the Commonwealth because most of the newer countries inside the Commonwealth simply do not yet have the purchasing power to buy the goods produced in the Old Dominions. Canada, Australia and New Zealand seek cash customers and there are not too many in that category in the ranks of the newer less-developed countries within the Commonwealth.

The Old Dominions have gone on record in New York, Geneva, *continued on page 274*

Above: An aerial view of Victoria, the capital of British Columbia in Canada, situated at the southern tip of Vancouver Island. In the foreground is the city harbour. A growing amount of trade centres around this port

Right: The Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada



Above: The Australian Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, speaks at the University of Melbourne

Left: The eastern side of The Rocks area in Sydney. The harbour bridge is on the right

Top: Canoeing on the Avon River in New Zealand

ROOM FOR GOOD SENSE *continued from page 272*

274 Brussels and London time and again in support of the general principle that every effort must be made to build up the economic as well as the political stability of the less-developed countries so that they can increase their purchasing power, but they have given no specific evidence of being prepared to make practical sacrifices in that cause themselves. They have been reluctant to let deeds square with words.

This was most noticeable at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Geneva recently when the generalised observations of the Old Dominions' spokesmen were received with polite applause inside the main assembly hall, but outside in the lobbies the Afro-Asian representatives commented bitterly: "The so-called Old Dominions will do everything to help us except give us direct aid of the kind they know we require; trade preferences, capital for investment in heavy industries and provision of technical know-how on a massive scale."

In the light of what has been said about the weakening of the ties between the "have" nations of the Old Dominions group and the "have not" new nations of the Commonwealth, has the Commonwealth any sort of a future from the viewpoint of Canada, Australia and New Zealand? It is a safe assumption that this question will be the main one to occupy some of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers when they assemble in London early in July next. If the Commonwealth is to be something more than an international debating society all members who attend the meeting will have to recognise certain truths.

They will have to recognise that anything like a tight Commonwealth strategic plan with its own general staff must now be regarded as visionary. The Old Dominions want no part of such a plan. In the same way the exchange of trade preferences and the movement of capital from member to member must fall far short of creating a Commonwealth economic unit. The Commonwealth association has very few rules and any attempt to codify them into a system would probably be disastrous. It would be futile to try to frame treaties and equally dangerous to try to reach vital policy decisions. The Old Dominions have undergone a process of disillusionment about the Commonwealth's competence in such matters. They have not forgotten South Africa. In these circumstances what can such a gathering hope to accomplish from the viewpoint of the Old Dominions? Their representatives will have to sit and listen to a lot of arguments and opinions with which they will not feel the slightest sympathy. What then? What room is left?

There is room left for pragmatic good sense in the approach to world problems, and for a demonstration to the rest of the world that a multi-racial association of nations can still work together for certain useful if limited objectives.

There is room left for the toleration within the institution of different political systems, different religions and even for republics which do not recognise the Queen as Head of State, but only as Head of the Commonwealth. Needless to say, the attachment of the Old Dominions to the Crown is in no way weakened or impaired. It remains as strong as ever.

Above all, there is room left for a common devotion to traditional ideas of British justice. Recent events in certain Commonwealth countries have demonstrated that they are notably lacking in this respect and have a rather imperfect conception of what the rule of law really involves.

A further function the Commonwealth might usefully perform in the future, from the viewpoint of the Old Dominions, is that of providing a ground for the exchange of practical ideas between political leaders of different races and philosophies, as well as different economic needs, provided hopes impossible of immediate achievement are not built upon such exchanges.

This is the future many in the Old Dominions see for the Commonwealth. It is the future the Old Dominions see for themselves within such a Commonwealth. It is a restricted future, hedged around with reservations, qualifications and misgivings, but it is better than no future at all. It falls far short of the former undefined and undefinable special relationship which once separated the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth from the rest of the world.

However, it is a view which is in harmony with the facts and not the fictions of 1964, and despite the platitudes of the politicians, it reflects the general feeling to be detected among the majority of the peoples of the Old Dominions. They see themselves as members of such a Commonwealth with limited powers and objectives, but free to pursue their own way of life.

They are not prepared to give the Commonwealth away as "a farce," but they are not inclined either to build too many of their high hopes upon its future. They intend to rely mainly upon their own initiative, resourcefulness and energy to maintain their places in the sun.

Above: The civic centre of Canberra, the national capital of Australia, photographed from the air. In the foreground are residential blocks, and behind them major retail trading stores. Canberra is a capital city which has been carefully designed to fulfil its purpose

Top right: The catch of Canadian fishermen on the Pacific coast is exported to all parts of the world

Right: In the far north of Canada, rigs for gold drilling rise from the snow

ROOM FOR GOOD SENSE *continued from page 275*

Above: A general view of Adelaide, which is the capital of South Australia. Originally a planned city, it has carried on this tradition and now has modern office blocks and factories mixing with older buildings. But probably the outstanding feature of the panorama is the parks and open spaces. The spacious living conditions are one of the great attractions of the city. Adelaide is named after the Queen of William IV. Among her other distinctions is the introduction of Christmas trees into Britain, and so eventually into the Christian parts of the Commonwealth

Right: The last tram to run in Wellington, New Zealand, is halted on its journey by a crowd outside the Government Buildings. The capital of New Zealand had steam trams from 1878-1882, then horse trams until electrification 60 years ago

THE SUB-CONTINENT

By **SYLVAIN MANGEOT**
Broadcaster and journalist and a former Foreign Editor of the London News Chronicle

Above: Mr Nehru, Prime Minister of India, says goodbye to President Ayub Khan of Pakistan after a meeting between the two leaders in Delhi in 1959
Right: Mrs Bandaranaike of Ceylon, the world's only woman Prime Minister, with her three children

Among all the members of the Commonwealth who have achieved independence since the Second World War, India stands out by her astonishing political stability. Mr Nehru was the doyen of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers at their last gathering in London. The fact that he was unchallenged leader of India when independence came and has led the central Government uninterruptedly ever since has certainly been a major factor in its continuity. But there is more to it than that. More than any other new Commonwealth country India has remained faithful to the main institutions she inherited from Britain—parliamentary democracy, independence of the judiciary from the executive, a free Press and the broad observance of basic individual rights.

It can be argued that she has been able to preserve democratic forms because the real issues of power and authority were resolved before the British left India. Because of the overwhelming majority of Congress in Parliament, even before the inauguration of the Republic in 1950, there has never been any compulsion to suppress opposition parties or fall back on one-party rule. India, to a greater extent than almost any nation, can fairly say that the one party which has enjoyed power—and which was luckily fully organised before it held power—was the genuine expression of the popular will.

This is not to say that India is within sight of solving her problems, either at home or abroad. Beneath the surface image which the outside world sees at the United Nations or in the ministries in New Delhi, the old divisions and pressures are very much alive. At state level they often burst into the open—problems of simmering communal strife, problems of language, problems of regional discontent with central authority or simply the everyday problems of economic and social planning involved in feeding and educating and integrating India's 440 million, while increasing their living standards and pushing ahead on the broad front of development and modernisation.

In terms of the Commonwealth, India performed in the years immediately after the war a function which is easily overlooked. She demonstrated that all sorts of revolutionary concepts were not necessarily incompatible with continued membership. By pioneering the policy of non-alignment between the two great power blocs during the cold war she was able to contain her own domestic extremists; but, by making non-alignment respectable she enormously eased both Britain's task of decolonisation and the acceptance, by the newly independent colonial countries, of the idea that genuine independence would not be imperilled by remaining in the Commonwealth.

Fifteen years is a very short time and the real test of these new relationships lies ahead. But India has already played a major role in reshaping the whole conception of Commonwealth. It is an extraordinary reflection, looking back to the prophecies of disintegration and disaster, that India should today be regarded as belonging distinctly to the conservative wing of the Commonwealth. In such a rapidly changing world " conservative " is a relative term, and Mr Nehru, whose constant struggle has been to break down the obstinate innate conservatism of many Indian ways of living and thinking, would probably passionately repudiate the label.

Partly, it is true, he has been driven into what strikes us as conservative attitudes by failures in the more revolutionary parts of his foreign policy. The collapse of his cherished policy of friendship with China has confronted him with problems of national defence which he hoped never to have to face and has resulted in new challenges to his authority at home. It has also made much more acute the question of his succession and the whole shape of India's future domestic and foreign policies.

Any objective assessment of his miscalculation of China under Communism leads directly to relations with Pakistan. It is very easy for outside observers to wonder how, after China's occupation of Tibet, the two nations of the sub-continent could persist in keeping the bulk of their armies facing each other across the cease-fire line in Kashmir instead of concentrating on a common defence policy for their threatened northern frontiers. The answer is painfully simple. The inability of India and Pakistan to sink their differences over Kashmir is rooted in the same causes which resulted in the partition of India when the British decided to withdraw. Pakistan's policies, like her very existence, have been dictated by the ineradicable suspicion that India had never accepted the divorce as permanent and would, if given an opportunity, seek Pakistan's destruction and reintegration into an undivided sub-continent. Inside and outside the United Nations individual members of the Commonwealth have often used their good offices in attempts to find a compromise solution for Kashmir, but to no avail.

Pakistan's feeling that she got less than a fair deal in the implementation of the terms of partition has been aggravated by the innumerable frustrations involved in trying to weld the two halves of the country into a single political whole. India's problems of integrating the dissimilar component parts of her vast federation pale into insignificance compared with the task of making one nation *continued on page 278*

THE SUB-CONTINENT *continued from page 277*

of East and West Pakistan. It is natural, perhaps even inevitable, that her political evolution should have pursued paths entirely different from India's. The interminable delays in constitution making and the radical differences in political temperament and economic interests of her two territories made the adoption of Westminster-styled parliamentary democracy less and less workable. And yet, understandably, Pakistan has continued to see herself as more faithful to the spirit of Commonwealth than India. In rejecting non-alignment and risking Communist displeasure by joining the West in two of its cold war defensive alliances, she certainly laid a powerful claim to the gratitude and support of the Western Alliance which she feels has never been quite adequately honoured—particularly when Britain and the United States began giving massive military aid to India at the time of the Chinese invasion. The old suspicion that stood between Jinnah and Nehru still makes Pakistan chary of accepting assurances that this aid may not one day be used against her. And so the wheel has gone full circle and we find Pakistan cautiously developing her relations with China while India moves nearer to something like an open defensive alliance with the West. It is as impossible not to sympathise with Pakistan in her predicament as it is not to regret the legacy of mutual Indo-Pakistan suspicion which has led her into it.

Ceylon's evolution is so completely foreign to anything witnessed in either India or Pakistan that she scarcely seems to belong to the same sub-continent. She experienced neither the violence of a militant liberation struggle nor the horrors of communal strife which accompanied independence on the mainland. Everything, in fact, seemed set fair for an exemplary future of harmony and prosperity. The split between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority, when it came, led both to communal violence and to gradual political anarchy. The central quarrel, centring round the linguistic grievances of the Tamil-speaking Hindus and the determination of the Sinhalese extremists to impose their own as the only official language, tends to obscure, for foreigners, the bewildering fragmentation of Ceylon's party political structure. Ever since the fall in 1956 of the United National Party, which had led the country to independence, the field has been free for a confusing succession of left-wing combinations. The net effect has been to swing Ceylon, internationally, into extreme neutralist attitudes and domestically to threaten a collapse of ordinary parliamentary procedures which, however, has never quite materialised. Perhaps her very immunity from hostile pressures from abroad has tempted the people of Ceylon to over-indulge their taste for political individualism to lengths which, in less favoured circumstances, might have proved fatal.

And yet, in her external relations, Ceylon has managed to steer an experimental but not unsuccessful course. She has felt able to play a leading role in the attempt to mediate between India and China and has never seen either her self-identification with Afro-Asian neutralism nor her somewhat erratic excursions into nationalisation of foreign companies as inconsistent with her membership of the Commonwealth. At the moment, with the government perched on a precarious and dwindling majority and parliament prorogued until July, it would be a rash prophet who would predict whether Ceylon's next move will be a return to moderation or a further slide to the left—always assuming that anyone can say precisely what, in the welter of conflicting Marxist and Trotskyite parties, that would really imply.

No one seems seriously to fear that Ceylon will permit herself to become the off-shore Cuba of the sub-continent. All in all, when one looks at the endemic confusion of the Middle East to one side and the unresolved tensions of South-East Asia to the other, the Commonwealth can reflect, without immodesty or complacency, that the sub-continent as a whole has stood up honourably to the test of independence. It has threatened no one and made tangible progress towards modernisation without resorting to totalitarian methods. If it has sometimes stretched the old concept of Commonwealth in the process, history may judge that this too was an important achievement.

Above: A view of the Natural Gas Fertiliser factory at Fenchuganj in East Pakistan

Top: Jute washing in East Pakistan

Above right: Mr Nehru, India's Prime Minister, rides a pony at Pahalgam Hill Station while in Northern Kashmir in 1962

Right: Indian workers join their children for night classes in reading and writing. The people of Ramnagar built this school themselves as part of the Sumerpur Community Project

Far right: The Hotel Janpath in New Delhi

TO LIVE IN PEACE

By **MARTIN HUTTON,** *former Editor of* The Malay Mail, *Kuala Lumpur*

280 "I have come to the conclusion that the majority of the peoples of Sabah (British North Borneo) and of Sarawak . . . wish to bring their dependent status to an end and to realise their independence through freely chosen association with other peoples in their region. . . . It is my conclusion that the majority of the peoples of the two territories . . . wish to engage with the peoples of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore in an enlarged Federation of Malaysia through which they can strive together to realise the fulfilment of their destiny." So reported U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations in September, 1963.

In that month Malaysia had been created, the free association of the 11 states of the then Federation of Malaya, and the former Crown colonies of Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah. Oil-rich Brunei, the British Protectorate between Sarawak and Sabah, decided almost at the eleventh hour not to join.

The Federation of Malaya, it must be emphasised, attained its independence on August 31, 1957 and had indeed set an example not only to the Commonwealth but to the free world. Largely through the inspiration of the Prime Minister and "Father of Independence," Tunku Abdul Rahman, the multi-racial nation began to forget racial and other differences and thought and acted as *Malayan* people. The word "Malayan," all too often confused with the word "Malay," implied any citizen of whatever racial origin whose loyalty was assured.

This same concept, only with the word changed from "Malayan" to "Malaysian," is the guiding thought for those responsible for the destinies of this new grouping. The racial diversification which marked both Singapore and the Federation of Malaya has become even more complicated with the addition of the various peoples of the Borneo territories.

But elections and other expressions of public opinion have shown that the peoples are not thinking along old racial lines but are looking ahead to the ultimate establishment of a Malaysia where racial origins can be honoured and old traditions respected but where a united people find a strength in their very diversity.

What of Malaysia itself? It comprises 14 states. Eleven of these are in the Malay Peninsula itself, the 11 states of the former Federation of Malaya. Of the three remaining states, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah (formerly North Borneo) make up the total.

There is a constitutional monarch, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, at present the Raja of Perlis. He is elected by his fellow rulers for a five-year period.

The total population of Malaysia is approximately 10 million. The indigenous peoples (Malays and the natives of the Borneo territories) account for 46 per cent. of the population with a grand total of 4,707,000. The breakdown is: Malaya 3,620,000, Singapore 238,000, Sabah 320,000 and Sarawak 529,000. The peoples of Chinese origin account for 42 per cent., the grand total of 4,302,000 being made up as follows: Malaya 2,670,000, Singapore 1,279,000, Sarawak 243,000 and Sabah 110,000.

For the entire area the Indian and Pakistani population is estimated at approximately 9·4 per cent. with a total of under 900,000.

Malaysia covers an area of about 130,000 square miles occupying two distinct regions. One region is the Malay Peninsula extending south-west from the narrow Kra isthmus to the island of Singapore. The other is the north-western coastal area of the large but sparsely populated island of Borneo. The two regions are separated by about 400 miles of the South China Sea.

Despite the not inconsiderable distances involved, the whole of the Malaysia area is kept in close touch, thanks to the air services available, especially by Malaysian Airways whose Comets are making short work of the distances and time between the two regions.

An essential and vital aspect of Malaysia is the fact that it has a strong central government, a government which not only controls the defence and tax structure but is also responsible for communications, for broadcasting and education. Only in Singapore, where because of special conditions arising from its overwhelming Chinese population, does the local state government control education and labour.

To this strong central government, which has an Upper House (Senate) and Lower House (Dewan Ra'ayat . . . House of the People) in Kuala Lumpur, go Members from all 14 states of Malaysia. Senators are not directly elected. There are two from each state elected by the State Assembly. Up to a total of 22 Senators are appointed by His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and many of these represent particular minority interests. To the Lower House go 159 elected Members.

At one of many meetings that preceded the establishment of Malaysia, Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister (left), talks with Mr Duncan Sandys, the Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, and the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew. They stand at the entrance of Marlborough House in London. Malaysia finally came into being in the face of much opposition from Indonesia on September 16, 1963

In the minds of Malaysia's leaders there can be no doubt that the people want Malaysia. They have expressed their endorsement by referendum and general election in Singapore, by ballot and by evidence to commissions in the Borneo territories and, most recently, by general election in the states of Malaya. In all cases there has been an overwhelming majority in favour of Malaysia and the recent voting in Malaya has given the Alliance Government a bigger-than-ever majority and this at a third general election within a decade.

The creation of Malaysia was greeted generally throughout the free world and many Commonwealth nations have pledged their support and goodwill. Despite the fact that initially Indonesia, Malaya's "giant" neighbour, welcomed the concept of Malaysia there was later a change of attitude and the "crush Malaysia" threat is still present. Indonesia has described Malaysia as being "neo-colonialist" and has virtually dismissed the findings of the United Nations commission sent to the Borneo territories.

Meanwhile, the presence of Indonesian guerrilla troops on Malaysian soil has put a halt to further talks which have been urged by friendly neighbouring nations. Malaysia has made it clear that there cannot be any negotiations until these troops are withdrawn. Despite the recent anxious months and the fact that there have been actual hostilities involving loss of life on both sides, the central government with the strong backing of the state government is going ahead with its social and economic development plans for Malaysia as a whole, but with special emphasis on the comparatively backward Borneo states.

When he spoke to the Malayan Parliament on his return from London last year the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, made clear that the establishment of Malaysia had no expansionist connotation, "as it is not our purpose, nor is it our desire, to venture into the realms of colonialism or neo-colonialism. These are concepts which are totally alien in our way of thinking and as far as we are concerned have already been irrevocably buried in the limbo of the past."

Malaysia has emphasised time and again that she has no aggressive intent nor with her small population, just over 10 million, would she be likely to have.

Rather is the determination to live in peace and, once again in the words of Tunku Abdul Rahman, "to survive the stresses and strains facing any new emerging nation in the 20th century, and to chart our destiny for the future ensuring to the country peace and stability and to the people harmony and prosperity."

Above: In Sarawak, a British naval helicopter waits at Belaga airstrip some 100 miles from the Indonesian border after delivering supplies. Local children are helping to pack parachutes into the bags

Left: In the wheel-house of a Malaysian naval craft, Lieut.-Ismail Bin Hassan takes a bearing. Malaysia is now receiving naval assistance from both Britain and Australia in meeting the threat at sea from pirate craft which are believed to be based in Indonesian waters

Far left: The first British High Commissioner to Malaysia, Viscount Head, is greeted as he arrives to present his credentials to the Supreme Ruler by the Grand Chamberlain of the Royal Court, Dato Nik Mustapha Fadzil. This was in November last year

VARIETY OF VISUAL ARTS

by **DONALD BOWEN**
Assistant Curator (Art),
The Commonwealth Institute, London

282 The Commonwealth is composed of many peoples who have inherited different traditions and who are today at varying stages of economic and cultural development; because of these fundamental factors there is no common culture. Any survey of the contemporary artistic scene must therefore, however long or short, at least touch upon these vastly different but very interesting conditions, even if it amounts to no more than the briefest summary of each country.

The current universal influences—abstract and abstract Expressionist—originated principally if not exclusively from France and, more recently, from America, and while the influence of British painting and sculpture in Commonwealth countries may be comparatively much less important, it should not be overlooked. Many students work in the United Kingdom and young painters receive bursaries to live and study here. In addition to the younger artists, many of established reputation in their own countries travel in search of greater, renown and reward. Thus, in England today there are numerous Australian, New Zealand Indian, Pakistan and Ceylon painters; the number from Canada is much smaller—Canadian artists prefer New York or Paris.

The recent growth of Australian painting is especially spectacular and will undoubtedly in years to come be regarded as one of the interesting developments of 20th century art—a century which is already remarkable for rapid change, restless experiment and phenomenal inventiveness. Australian painting is surprisingly and strangely un-European. Whether one is justified in writing of an Australian school of painting is doubtful, but certainly an exhibition of Australian painting would reveal common characteristics in many canvases; similar solutions to the problems of the relationship of figure to landscape, of landscape itself, for surely one of the powerful factors in the life of the continent is the landscape so strangely different from that of any other part of the world. And in Australia too, it is interesting to note how the figurative image has been retained, even fought for, with a conviction and vitality possibly unparalleled elsewhere. Russell Drysdale (b. 1912), Sidney Nolan (b. 1917) and Arthur Boyd (b. 1920) may be quoted in this context, but Australia is rich in painters, both figurative and abstract, and generalisations, as so often, are dangerous. Albert Tucker (b. 1914) is one of the most important pioneer painters in the modern movement who has travelled and exhibited abroad a great deal. William Dobell (b. 1897) is internationally famous as a portrait painter.

It seems reasonable to write of Australian painting first because of its importance and because I have no wish to approach this task while thinking of political or economic precedence. If provincialism is evident in Australian art the same may be said of art in Canada, where a feeling of national identity only began to form between the two World Wars. But in any exhibition of the world's finest art some Canadians would appear and one would be Jean-Paul Riopelle (b. 1923), whose international reputation is thoroughly deserved. His work possesses great vitality; the paint is freely, creatively handled and the colour of overwhelming beauty. Among others, Alfred Pellan (b. 1906) and Harold Town (b. 1924) might well be selected. There is no space to name some regional, isolated talents, but I should mention Jack Shadbolt (b. 1909), whose work shows something of Graham Sutherland's romantic treatment of natural forms combined with West Coast Indian art. The number of sculptors of professional ability and promise is growing.

Despite its small population and geographical position, activity is plentiful in New Zealand, but no living artist from there can claim international repute. There is, however, no shortage of good painting and an independent attitude is growing. Non-figurative painting dominates the best work but its origins may be traced to the landscape. Many New Zealanders come to Europe and especially to England, and one who has done this and whose abstractions are derived from landscape is John Drawbridge (b. 1930)—a thoughtful painter with a future.

I propose to look at Africa as a whole and I hope in so doing I upset no one. African art presents a marked contrast to that of other parts of the Commonwealth for several reasons: generally, the peoples are only now finding their feet politically and economically and the dilemma of the African is inevitably reflected in his art; sculpture is in many cases a major art and there is no tradition of painting.

There are several sculptors who have with merit adapted traditional methods and one, the Nigerian Ben Enwonwu (b. 1921), has an international reputation. He was trained at the Slade School of Fine Art and has produced many works of power and technical mastery in bronze and other materials. Another, less well known, is the Ghanaian Vincent Kofi. There are sculptors producing interesting work in Southern Rhodesia—Tubayi Dube (b. 1930) and others. There a quite decided neo-African art is developing—an art which is thoroughly African, new, exciting and owing little to the past. Again, in East Africa, where tradition is weak, there are able carvers of stone and wood.

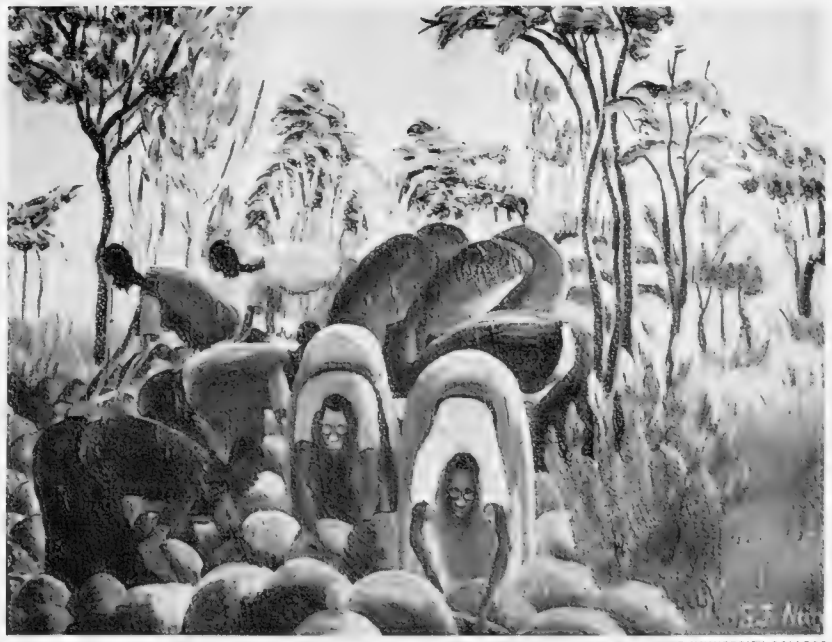
But the story is different when we come to African painting. Unfettered by traditions, the most able African painters have been quick to appreciate the real qualities of oil paint and have proved themselves capable of using it with disciplined freedom. In Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, enlightened encouragement has brought into being a group of painters whose work bears an astonishing resemblance to that of the German Expressionists. One is Thomas Mukarobgwa, who is Head Attendant at the Rhodes National Gallery. East Africa has produced several painters of marked gifts: the work of Sam Ntiro (b. 1923 in Tanganyika), another Slade student *continued on page 284*

HAMILTON GALLERIES

A recent work by the Indian, Avinash Chandra. He is one of the Asian artists in the Commonwealth who have achieved maturity and international fame

PRIVATE COLLECTION

ARTIST'S COLLECTION



MAKERERE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

Above: Sam Ntiro's canvas "Potato Planting." He is a Tanganyikan
Top: "Wildebeaste" is a painting by the world-renowned Australian, Sidney Nolan
Left: "Stroumbi Fountain," a Cypriot scene by the island's artist A. Diamantis

VARIETY OF VISUAL ARTS *continued from page 283*

and now a diplomat, is narrative and painted in a Rousseau-like manner. Louis Mwaniki (b. 1937 in Kenya), trained at the School of Fine Art, Makerere, has painted intimate studies of African urban life reminding one of the Euston Road School. In West Africa, and in Nigeria especially, there are several painters of more than modest ability: Jimo Akolo (b. 1936) is an intelligent, sensitive artist, whose painting embodies much that is typically African.

India provides another contrast by confronting us with a history and traditions much older than most, but India has always been able to absorb new influences while maintaining its own identity. Traditional methods still persist, but the most important Indian painters today work in oil or a similar medium—techniques in which there is no tradition. Many Indian artists exile themselves to London, Paris or New York, and in London both F. N. Souza (b. 1924) and Avinash Chandra (b. 1931), have grown to artistic maturity and achieved international fame. Sayed Raza (b. 1922) lives in Paris, where his achievement has been similar but unlike them he has discarded the image. M. F. Husain has not left his homeland; he is probably the best known Indian painter—certainly at home. Gaitonde has also remained in India; his work is entirely abstract. Possibly, the best Indian sculptors are less well known than their fellow artists, but S. Chowdhry successfully works on a large scale.

Pakistan and Ceylon present a similar scene to India. Both countries possess artists of considerable merit, (*continued on page 286*)

PRIVATE COLLECTION

Above: An oil painting by Jimo Akolo, a Nigerian

PRIVATE COLLECTION

Above: Kenya's Louis Mwaniki's "Morning" is oil on board

PRIVATE COLLECTION

PRIVATE COLLECTION

Above: George Keyt of Ceylon is the artist who painted "Nayika"
Left: "The Drover's Wife" is typical of the style of the Australian, Russell Drysdale

RHODES NATIONAL GALLERY SALISBURY

Above: A sculpture by the Rhodesian Tubayi Dube—"Head of a Man"
Top: City by Water "Brunei" by the Singapore painter Cheong Soo Pieng

VARIETY OF VISUAL ARTS *continued from page 285*

286 some of whom work in London, who in the main use European techniques. Sadequain of Pakistan (b. 1930) is moving away from the figurative image and is using a very limited range of colour with great, almost grim, intensity. Ahmed Parrez (b.1926) lives in London; his work is quite abstract, most vital and of extreme beauty of colour. In George Keyt (b. 1901) Ceylon possesses a painter of repute rather older than most I have

Above: A painting by Pakistan's Ahmed Parrez

mentioned. His genius has not been submerged by the potent influences from France which he has reconciled to his own sensuous gift of linear design. Ivan Peries (b. 1921) and Ranil Deraniyagala (b. 1936) are two Ceylon painters living in England of considerable but different ability. Peries' work is of delicate colour. Deraniyagala is vigorous.

Political independence for Malaya brought about a national release of spirit. There is a great deal of creative energy and talent and long-accepted attitudes and techniques are being modified. Thus, the adaptation to painting of the old method of making batik cloth is an interesting development. The achievement of Chuah Thean Teng (b. 1914) has been noteworthy in this respect. His work is figurative but he is fully aware of the limitations his method imposes. Among abstract painters of note Cheong Lai Tong (b. 1932) and Syed Ahmad Jamal (b. 1929) should be mentioned. In Singapore, now part of the wider Federation of Malaysia, Cheong Soo Pieng (b. 1917) is an excellent example of the fusion of Eastern and Western styles.

Elsewhere in the Commonwealth: Cyprus possesses two good painters in A. Diamantis (b. 1900) and G. Pol Georghiou (b. 1901). In Malta and the Caribbean, where Edna Manley (b. 1900) of Jamaica is a sculptor to note, there is no shortage of talent.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

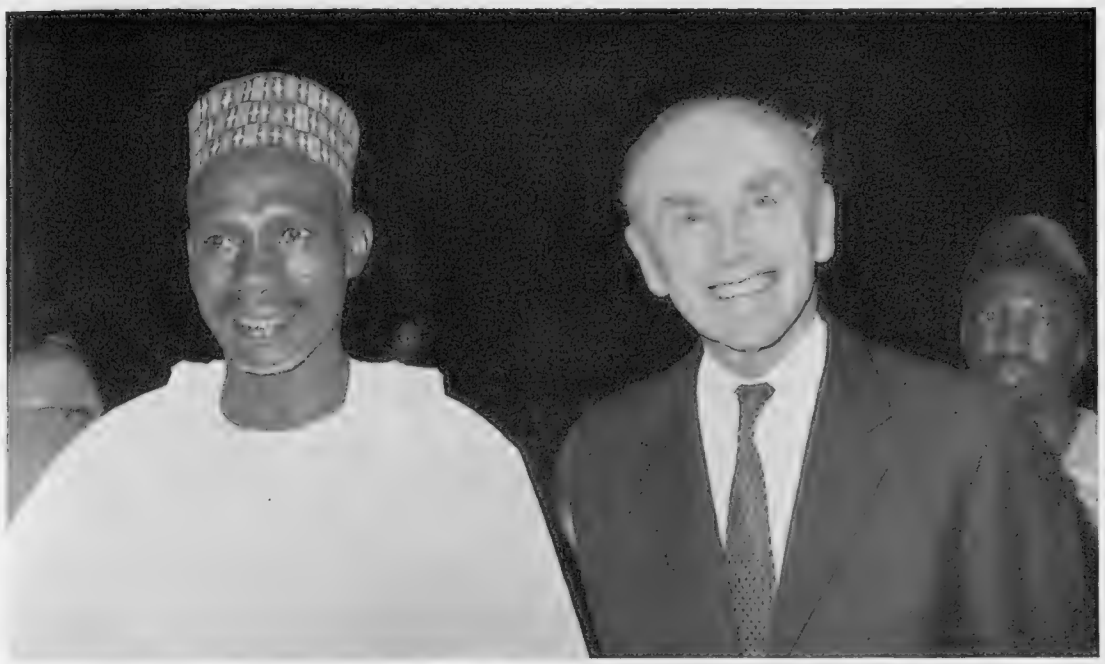
PRIVATE COLLECTION

HAMILTON GALLERIES

Above: "Grief" a woodcarving by the Nigerian, Ben Enwonwu
Right: "Head" by Avinash Chandra
Top: "Black Cleft" by Jack Shadbolt

AFRICAN FREEDOM AT WORK

By **L. O. ADEGBITE** *of Nigeria; B.A. Southampton, now at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London*



Opinions differ as to what constitutes the essentials of democracy and it seems even futile to join in the conflict now raging between the exponents of the classical democratic theory and the modernists advocating a revision of the classical definition. For our present purpose, however, the stand taken by the classical theorists is still apposite today. Graeme Duncan and Steven Lukes recently summarised the classical treatment of a democratic society as " one in which all the citizens (the people) continuously and actively participate in the various community affairs and, above all, in political affairs." This description would equally embrace Tanganyika's Dr Julius Nyerere's understanding of democracy as " a form of government whereby the people—all the people—settle their own affairs through free discussion," and Nigeria's Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa's definition, " Democracy is essentially government by discussion." The emphasis all along is on collective participation.

For Africa, the problem is not one of erecting *ab initio* a democratic structure. On the contrary, it is one of adapting the African institutions since modified by the colonial powers, to suit the modern needs of the African states.

At this juncture it is opportune to refute those who argue that dictatorship suits the Africans who have always been used to it under their chiefs. The truth is that traditionally no chief could violate the will of his subjects. For as the London *Times* put it in an article last year, " where there were tribal chiefs . . . they were considerably dependent upon the tribal council and a kind of rudimentary democracy worked from the people through the chief-in-council." In fact, in those turbulent days, the chief was most vulnerable to collective rebellion of his people. He had to woo their support lest they should switch their allegiance to a neighbouring ruler who was either a real enemy or a potential one.

Moreover, though the Africans might not, in pre-European days, know the ballot-box, they had other recognisable means of expressing approval or disapproval of a regime. For example they did " vote " with their voices by freely speaking out their views " under the big tree " and in their moonlight gatherings, or by singing, as the occasion demanded, popular songs of praise or of condemnation directed at their chiefs or elders. Nor did they stop there, for some even went as far as " voting with their feet " against oppressive regimes.

Even in those societies where there were no tribal chiefs, it is incorrect to say that a true " anarchic system prevailed." Such people, usually small in number, learned to live together in co-operation and harmony. An unwary observer would probably think that, in a society lacking a formal head who monopolised the use *continued on page 288*

Above left: The Nigerian Prime Minister, Sir Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, with Sir Alec Douglas-Home in Lagos during the British Prime Minister's visit to Nigeria earlier this year
Left: In the centre of Freetown, Sierra Leone. Under the historic Cotton Tree in Taylor Cummings Avenue slaves were freed from their shackles

AFRICAN FREEDOM AT WORK *continued from page 287*

of force, every inhabitant was a law unto himself, lording it over his neighbour. That would be a misleading picture. It is in fact in such a society that the Greek model of pure democracy could thrive unabated. All the inhabitants would meet together to discuss matters affecting the entire group. The rules were simple and so few that every member of the community knew exactly what was expected of him.

Those tribal conditions, however, no longer obtain today, for nearly all African countries have passed through one form of colonisation or the other. They have, so to say, " not leap-frogged from indigenous states to independent nations." Certain institutions of government have been introduced and carried forward to independence which have changed or modified the traditional systems and procedures of government.

The ex-British colonies provide an illuminating example of this amalgam at work. For so proud were the British of their democratic practices that everywhere they went they made it a sacred duty to leave them behind as their chief legacy. They did so in America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Malaya; and why not in Africa too? But happily, nearly all the African countries would go along with Britain over the broad outline of her democratic practices. It is over details however, that there is bound to be a parting of the ways.

Take Parliament. The widest area of divergence between the African states and Britain lies in the form Parliament should take. Thus the constitutional map of Africa shows that of the independent countries only four—Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Uganda and Kenya—retain the Westminster model. The others have either one-party or one-dominant-party government or military rule. On the other hand, Britain attaches the greatest importance to her two-party system, the majority party forming the government while the opposition is accorded official recognition as the alternative government if party fortunes should change, usually at the next election. But how fundamental to democracy is this idea of two-party or multi-party system?

That conditions in some African countries do not permit an organised opposition does not mean that the citizens do not have a say in the government of their country. The sole party is usually a party of the masses. Moreover, criticisms of government policies and actions are voiced freely within the party. It seems wrong, therefore, to describe these one-party states as wholly undemocratic. We may go a step further and argue that opposition parties are not indispensable to a democracy. We must not, of course, jump to the conclusion that a one-party system is perfect. There are greater dangers of lapses into authoritarian tendencies in countries where there is a one-party system than in countries with a two- or multi-party system.

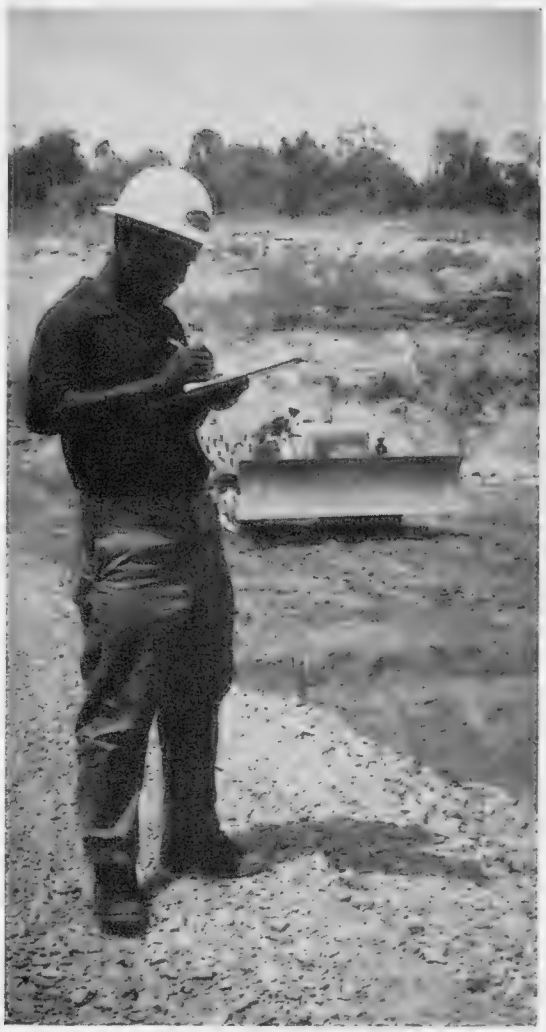
Further, free elections are as important as the lively debates that take place within the sole party. The practice of a " single list " election whereby the entire nation is converted into a single constituency, one vote of the voter electing a list including the President of the Republic and all the members of Parliament would, therefore, seem to give very little room for democracy to function properly. The other extreme is equally unbearable. Consider the case where there is no party endorsement of any individual candidate. Anarchy is bound to result. A single-party system may thus end in a no-party system. But there is no such present threat of collapse to Africa's one-party regimes. The leaders who provide the driving force for the regimes are still full of energy and are popular enough to retain and contain the massive following of their people. Yet the " mystique of the leader " cannot be an eternal phenomenon. The declining hold of Nehru in India may well be the writing on the wall for Africa's " charismatic " leaders. This perhaps reinforces the view that the one-party system of government is a temporary situation in African politics.

In Africa, as we pointed out earlier, opposition parties exist and function as such only in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Uganda and Kenya. It is interesting to note that these countries are ex-British colonies. But it is usually said that in the poor countries of Africa opposition parties are a luxury which the people can ill afford. If the standard of living of the people of Africa is to be raised very quickly, each country must be mobilised for an all-out war on want. This could only be done, so the argument goes, under a strong, highly centralised government which could hardly tolerate the restraining influences of formal opposition parties.

No one would doubt the efficacy of strong executive measures in the times of grave crisis. To employ such measures, however, in solving problems of economic development is to use a sledge-hammer to crack a nut. Further, the myth of economic dynamism in states with highly centralised government has been exploded. Cuba's confession of failure of her crash industrialisation programme is the latest evidence reinforcing the conclusions long reached about Russia's and China's methods of achieving rapid economic growth. A monolithic state as such does not conjure economic progress.

In any case, even if it were found desirable by the government to liquidate the existing opposition parties, it might not be easy to carry out. The recent fall of President F. Youlou in Congo (Brazzaville) shows how difficult it is to turn a multi-party state into a one-party state overnight. President Youlou, who had been re-elected into office by 97·5 per cent. majority in 1961 was compelled to give way to the wishes of the people. This " first successful popular explosion in an African state " is significant.

On the other hand, since in an African multi-party system there is usually not much to choose between the parties (clash of personalities apart), it may well be asked whether it is in the interest of the nation that they should stand apart. Nigeria seems to be a classic example of a country where the lines separating



Above: President Nkrumah of Ghana looking over a soap factory in Tane, Ghana
Left: Work in progress at Akosombo, on the Volta River Dam, Ghana
Right: Part of the Independence Day celebrations held in Accra. The women are wearing dresses covered with prints of the head of President Nkrumah
Far right: The two-party system in the Federal Parliament of Nigeria. On the left are the Government and on the right the Opposition

the parties are not all that rigid. Thus the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) with its professed radical outlook, has been working for some years now in coalition with the supposedly conservative or traditional Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) on the federal level.

What then is the nature of African politics in those countries where more than one party exists? The label "politics of exclusion" may not be inappropriate. The opposition party feels bitter that its leaders are excluded from the executive of power and a share of privileges and patronages. In its despondency it seems ready to excite any sentiments to discredit the government. The government party in turn hits harder by adopting policies and implementing decisions which are blatantly discriminatory.

In his book, *Africa, What Lies Ahead?* D. H. Chisiza says the explanation of the friction between the governing party and the opposition hinges on the sharing of gratitude and prestige . . . "leaders of the opposition parties who may have fought for independence just as valiantly as anyone else find themselves the recipients of practically nothing." He suggests that the formation of a national government during the first few years of independence would remove this friction. Tom Mboya too subscribes to this view and the same argument is going on in Nigeria at the moment.

Some of the merits of this suggestion are obvious. First, in the African context, obligations of democracy do not terminate with the discussion of the issues. People would want to participate in the initiation of, discussion on, and the execution of, policies. This is why the representative element ought not to be confined to the legislature. It should be extended to the government as well, i.e. the composition of the government must be representative, not (in the sense understood in Britain) of the majority but of the entire people. This, I would consider, may be an important concept.

Secondly, a national government does not destroy the identity of the parties. It only means that during the life of the current Parliament all the parties would work together for the national good. At the next election, each party would be free to campaign for support on its own ticket. Yet it is this periodic taking up of arms, one party against the other, that makes a mockery of the unity purportedly achieved through a national government.

But it is still possible to have a "representative government" without necessarily forming a national government. In a plural society (that is, where ethnic or racial groups are a decisive influence), it is better to ensure that each group (if large enough) is adequately represented in the government. For instance, under the Nigerian Constitution before 1954 it was obligatory for each Region to provide three Ministers on the federal level. It may, of course, happen that in a particular area, the government concerned has not won a single seat in the legislature.

Perhaps here, a presidential system, on the American model, may offer a solution. The President would be free to choose his Ministers from anywhere provided no ethnic or racial group shall be unrepresented in his administration. This arrangement looks ideal, but it does not remove the possible conflict between the legislature and the executive, for the President's party may be in the minority as the Republican party was in the last American administration.

The main problem then appears to be one of adapting the Westminster model to accommodate the peculiar grievance of Africa's opposition elements, namely the *quantum* of their participation in the government of their country. Here, might we not borrow a leaf from the Caribbean Islands where in Jamaica, and to a lesser extent in Trinidad, the opposition is given worthwhile responsibilities, such as seeking its views on appointments to the most sensitive public offices?

We have sought to show that taking Westminster to a foreign soil makes adaptations inevitable. But while in Africa we seek the most suitable way of adapting British democratic practices to the needs of newly independent countries, we must not overlook that most essential feature of democracy—its *sine qua non*—free and collective participation of all the people in political affairs. This is the essence of the matter and provided this feature is present, it seems to be unimportant whether the system is geared to single-party or multi-party.

RE-THINKING ABOUT AFRICA

By **M. S. MAKOKO,** *Law Student, Middle Temple, from Tanganyika*

290 It is very difficult for even a shrewd student of international affairs to be able to keep pace with the speed and uncertain occurrence of events in Africa, let alone to forecast what would be the outcome of a particular event which had suddenly emerged. However, one thing is certain and that is that the Africans are now more determined than any other continental group has ever been determined before that they must unite. The object of this unity is expressly wide and it could be conveniently defined as the common will of the African people to live together in a kind of an economic and political symbiosis.

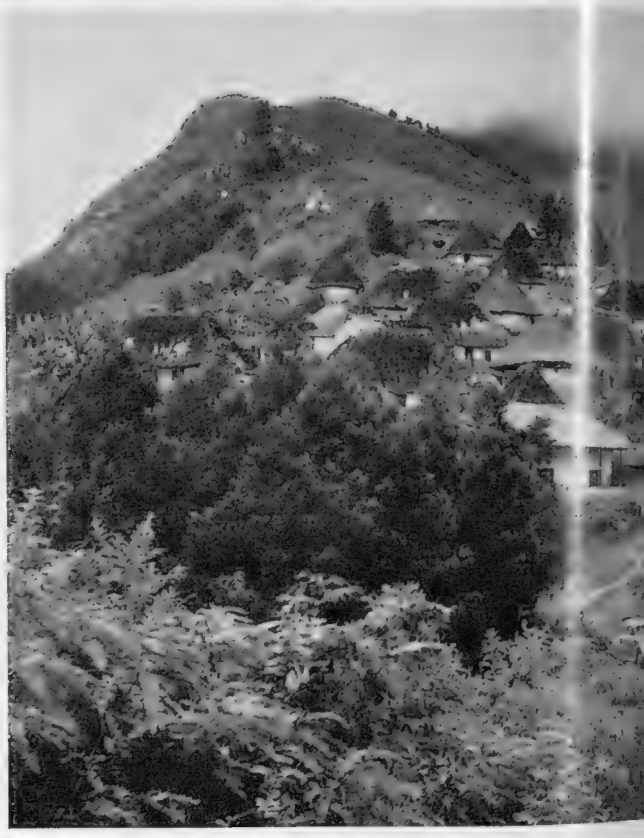
Among many transformations which the people of Africa are undergoing today, a distinct revolution in self-evaluation has to be counted. The African has set out to re-interpret himself to himself—and, at the same time, invited the rest of the world to reconsider its judgment on him. There are obviously many pitfalls against him, but the African has been a victim of pitfalls since time immemorial and yet remained undeterred from looking towards the new horizons—be they economic or political.

It is interesting to see that East Africa, with its very short period of independence, has made a step forward to achieving what has come to be the accepted norm of African politics today, namely, the spirit of Pan-Africanism. To a stranger this might seem a new development but to those who have been following the rapidly moving history of the region this could only be a step towards the realisation of the dreams and hopes which the PAFMECA (Pan African Movement for East and Central Africa) had been cherishing for nearly a decade before it was abolished after the conference of Addis Ababa. At the All African Peoples Conferences, the idea that Pan-African Unity can be achieved through Regional Federations has always been accepted and can be found in resolutions passed by all the conferences, which also accepted that Regional Federations were not contradictory to plans, for instance, for an African-wide Payments Union, the creation of African-wide communication systems or the development of inter-African trade. Moreover, at the last conference, in Addis Ababa, it was agreed that Regional Federations were welcomed by the new Organisation for African Unity.

There ought to have been the Federation of East Africa as soon as Kenya had achieved nationhood in December, 1963, but unforeseen circumstances intervened. But for the revolution in Zanzibar in January and the subsequent mutinies in the other East African territories, the idea of the federation would, one ventures to state, have taken a long time to materialise. Besides, the calamities which took place have opened the eyes of the people of these regions to the fact that they have common problems, sentiments and aspirations. Much as one ought to abhor the shedding of blood and loss of lives, it is a sign of relief and anticipation to see a newly born Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar which undoubtedly has laid the foundation stone to the eventual larger Federation of East Africa and has rekindled the desire of so many African states in re-thinking about their role in the African Unity. The Prime Minister of Uganda only recently intimated that Uganda is committed to the Federation of East Africa.

Above: Mr Jomo Kenyatta, the Premier of Kenya, and Mr Tom Mboya, the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs. They are among the key figures in the future of their own country and of the whole African continent

Right: A village on the slopes of the Usumbura mountains in the Tanga Province of Tanganyika **Below:** President Nyerere of Tanganyika and President Karume of Zanzibar after they had reached agreement to merge their two countries



The area which comprises East Africa is of great size and diversity and comprises every kind of climate from tropical to temperate, and from the arid to the moist. There are natural sources of power, and great areas remote from such sources. It also comprises communities with different skills and these differences point to considerable degrees of local specialisation in production. Removal of the artificial political barrier would mean first, freedom of trade and movement of goods, services, capital and labour and secondly, it would ensure that where there is an advantage in large-scale production of a commodity, it will be produced on a large scale in one place, or a few places for the whole area, instead of being produced on an uneconomically small scale in a large number of localities. This is a real challenge to the African leaders if they really believe that colonialism was responsible for creating completely artificial boundaries in Africa. It is also the only antidote to meaningless sloganisation which has permeated African politics these days. Dr Nyerere summed this up by saying that actions speak louder than words when asked about the political merger of Zanzibar and Tanganyika.

East Africa Federation could play an important role in the Commonwealth because of

Above: An aerial view of part of Nairobi showing some of the many modern buildings which make it one of the most up-to-date capitals in Africa. The city stands on a high plateau and 60 years ago was only a railway settlement

Left: Mica is graded and sized at Mgeta in the Uluguru mountains of Eastern Province in Tanganyika

Below: The Legislative Council building in the centre of Kampala, the capital of Uganda

its great economic and political strength. Moreover, on the principle that the strengthening of the links between any of its members strengthens the Commonwealth as a whole, the scope for bilateral agreements on any subject of mutual interest is very great indeed when bargained for by a large and potential area like East Africa; this, East Africa could learn from Australia and Canada.

In the years that have passed since the Report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 and the enactment of the Statute of Westminster 1931 some modifications have been introduced into the meaning of the membership of the Commonwealth, which actually is a non-racial society with a multi-racial attitude. Some members of the Commonwealth have found that it is not enough to be able to say that they enjoy a system of government which is in no way subordinate to the government of the United Kingdom. They wish to be able to say that their constitution is, so to speak, "home-grown," sprung from their own soil, and not imported from the UK. As Professor Wheare, an Australian now head of an Oxford college, puts it—"They wish to assert not the principle of autonomy only: they assert also the principle of something stronger, of self-sufficiency, of constitutional autarchy or, to use a less familiar but accurate word, a principle of constitutional autochthony: of being constitutionally rooted in their own native soil."

These ideas have produced some radical changes in the constitutional structure of the Commonwealth and, so far, in East Africa the Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar has adopted that system, as has the Republic of Uganda. It goes without saying that the future Federation of East Africa will also adopt it and as all regions are members of the Commonwealth at the present, obviously there will not be any difficulty in their declaring and reaffirming, as a larger group with one strong voice, their "desire to continue their full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and their acceptance of the Queen as the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth."

FAILURE TO FEDERATE

by **Ernest Eytle,** *from British Guiana, barrister and broadcaster on world affairs*

In 1953 I returned home to the Caribbean after an absence of some 15 years. It gave me an opportunity to look at the old place from a new angle. I like to think it was from an objective viewpoint. It was a happy year to return home. I had lost none of my taste for the atmosphere of the Caribbean. In Grenada I breakfasted on a regular helping of Julie and Bombay mangoes brought to me by my elderly host at about 6 a.m. T. A. Marryshow was an early riser. He picked the mangoes himself from his hillside garden, and served it up every morning with strong black coffee and a large whisky.

At 11 a.m. or so we would sit down in the portico of his house—The Rosary—overlooking St. George's harbour and there enjoy a meal of cassava bread and pepper-pot. If anything is required to remind one of his surroundings and the pleasures of a boyhood spent in the native joys of West Indian life this rich stew of meat, cow heel and oxtail was certainly so devised. On the face of it nothing had changed in Grenada, or the other islands for that matter.

There was the familiar sight of a helmeted policeman in white tunic standing under a canopy on the peak of a hill directing traffic in four directions. The buses with quaint names like " Never Worry "—they don't have numbers—the crowds streaming towards the cricket ground, and the stalls selling Mawby and other soft drinks. This side of life in the West Indies had remained constant and inviting as the sunshine that bathes the islands.

But underneath all this there was an air of expectancy, not only in Grenada but everywhere in the Caribbean. These were the days when every politician worked to achieve a federated West Indies. Politics had taken a hold of the populace and in everyone's drawing room the discussion was sure to drift sooner or later to the drift towards the achievement of the common goal. It was a concept that gladdened the heart of my Grenadian host, and inspired thousands of West Indians much younger than he.

Every island had its political parties led by eminent citizens. In Jamaica the People's National Party, led by Mr Norman Manley, was opposed to the Jamaica Labour Party, the head of which was Sir Alexander Bustamante. Dr Eric Williams was the leader of the party that was eventually swept to power in Trinidad. Dr Cheddie Jagan in nearby British Guiana was at the helm of the People's Progressive Party, before the split that saw the formation of the People's National Congress led by his opponent Forbes Burnham.

Barbados, the Leeward and Windward islands were also geared to the struggle for a Federal Constitution for the West Indies. It seemed nothing but internal dissention could prevent the islands progressing towards their avowed goal. It was a time of inter-island conferences, of earnest debate and planning. Conferences for closer association between the various islands led to conferences between West Indian leaders and the British Government representatives at London's Lancaster House.

Out of these discussions came unification of currency, customs, the judiciary and the civil service. The West Indians were getting together as a nation. The conferences in London grew in number and it was only a matter of time before the Federal Instrument would be given the sanction of Law. In 1956 the Governor-General was appointed and the Federal Parliament became a reality a year later. The goal of Federation had been achieved and a West Indian flag was unfurled.

But the life of the Federal Government of the West Indies was a short one. In 1961 the government of Jamaica held a referendum on the subject of that island's continuance as a member of the Federation. The electorate voted against it, and Jamaica held elections shortly after when a new government was returned. This meant in effect the return of Bustamante's Jamaica Labour Party to power, in place of the PNP party led by his cousin, Norman Manley.

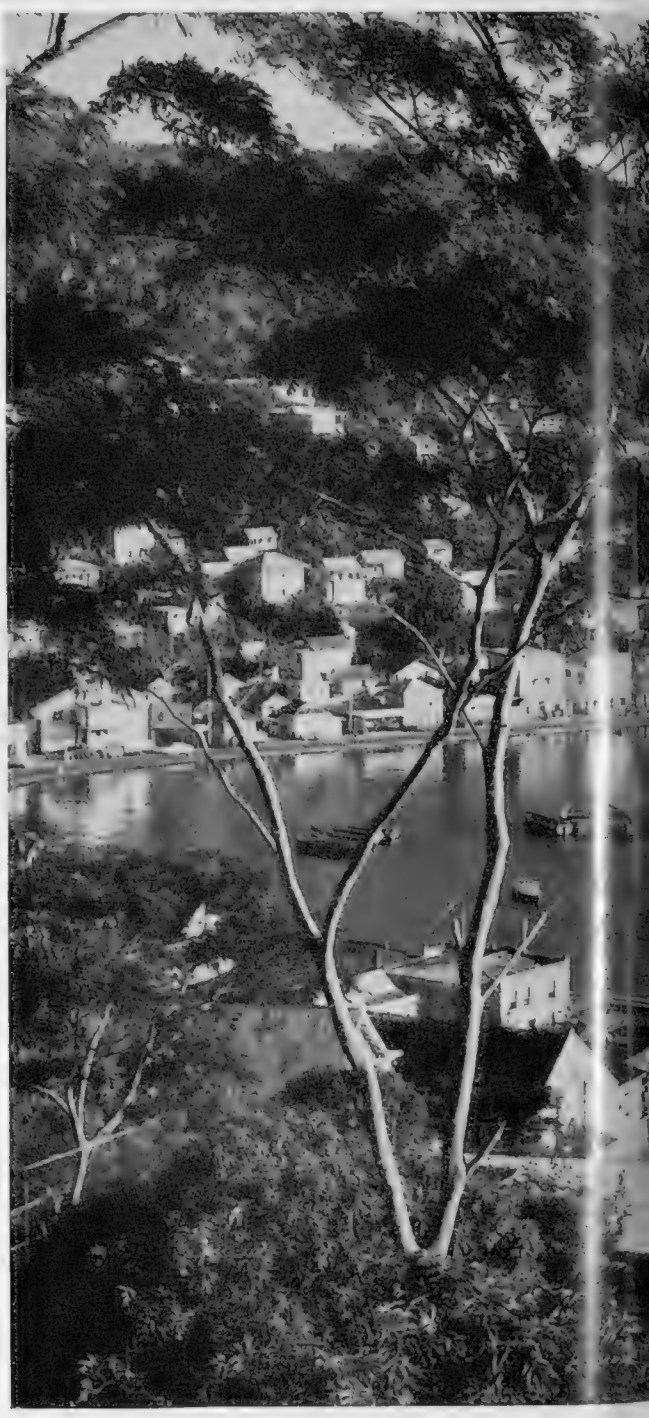
It was not long after that the Trinidad and Tobago Government under its leader Dr Eric Williams decided to pull out of the Federation also. This left the " little eight "—who resent being called the little eight—to attempt to form a minor federation in the Caribbean. They include the islands of Barbados, St. Vincent, the Leeward and Windward islands. For the moment therefore the Federation as first conceived is no longer in existence.

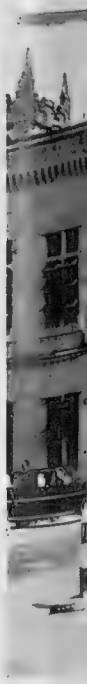
But the effects of the vast energy poured into the formation of a Federation have seen the emergence of a West Indian culture more permanent than the political structure aimed at by the architects of Federation. The creation of the University of the West Indies, which started as a University College in Jamaica, is one of the most significant results of the federal idea. It remains a vibrant force in education in the Caribbean, and is bound to have a powerful effect on Caribbean unity in the future.

Besides, a new West Indian literature has emerged, rich in scope and achievement. Novelists, poets and other writers from the Caribbean have enjoyed great success in recent years and their talents have been a spur to others from that area. The names of Vidia Naipaul, Edgar Mittleholzer, John Hearne, George Lamming, Ian Carew, Andrew Salkey, Samuel Selvon, E. R. Braithwaite and Wilson Harris are well known to readers in Britain and elsewhere. This is one field in which West Indians will make a splendid cultural contribution.

One cannot put the entire blame for the break-up of the Federation squarely on the shoulders of the political leaders or their parties. It may well be that the community as a whole were not ready to enjoy the benefits of a federal society. This in turn may be due to the fact that the West Indies are a number of small islands spread out over great expanses of water, and lacking that close integration that is necessary for the full achievement of nationhood.

They are a people of mixed racial background: negroes, Indians, Chinese and Europeans. In one part of the area the racial issue has developed into a national crisis. This territory is British Guiana. It is to be hoped that this feature of Caribbean life will not become the pattern for should this happen the future would present a dismal picture.





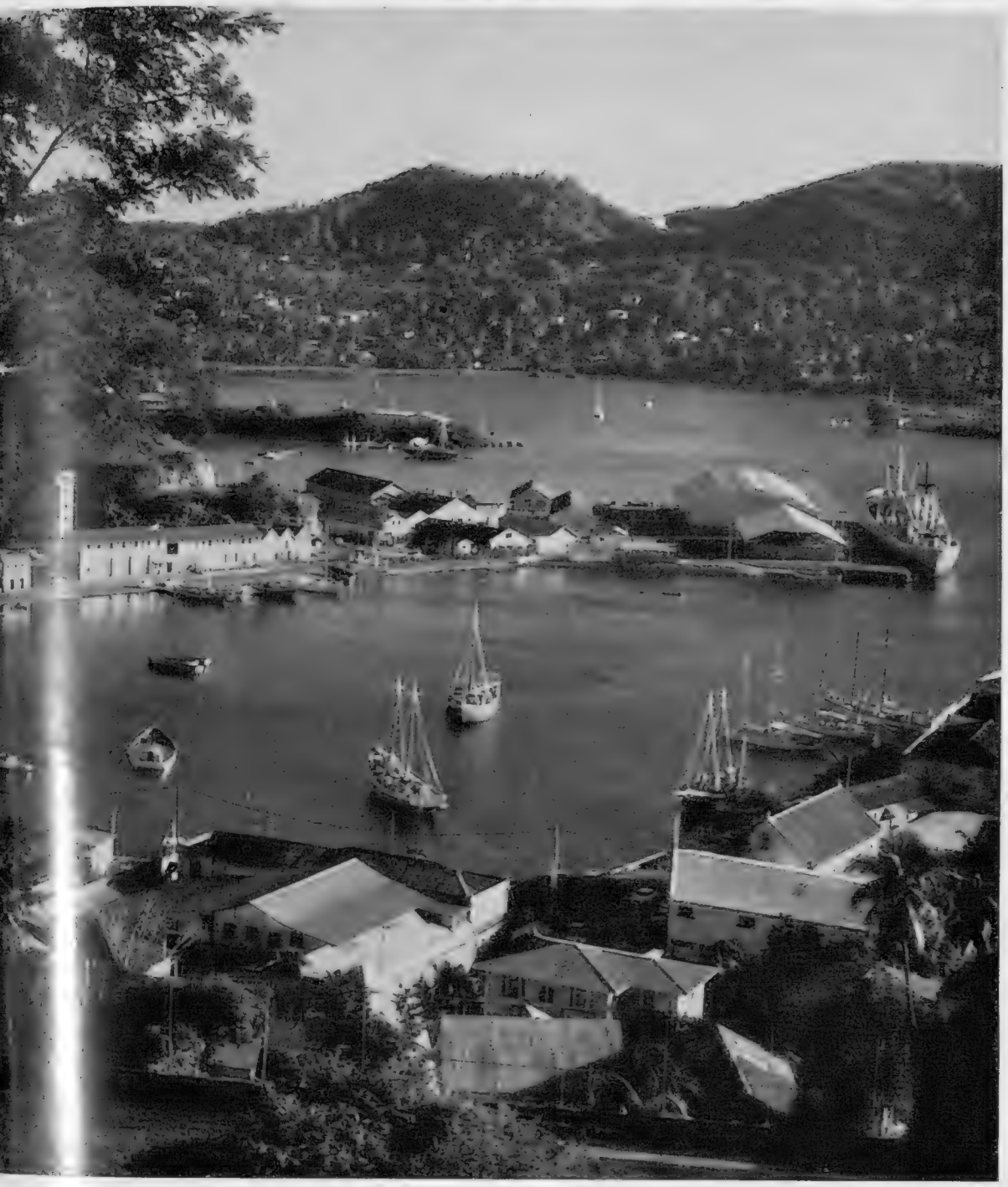
Above: Sir Alexander Bustamante, Prime Minister of Jamaica (left) and Dr Cheddi Jagan, Prime Minister of British Guiana

Top: The view over the harbour of St. George's, the capital of Grenada

Top, left: An agricultural show at Denbigh, Jamaica

Top, right: Bulk storage for sugar at Bridgetown, Barbados

Right: In Bridgetown, in Trafalgar Square, stands a statue of Nelson



CYPRUS—TRAGIC PROBLEMS

The tragic situation in Cyprus has never seemed to be a problem that the Commonwealth could solve. The island's ties with Greece and Turkey are too strong for that. Yet shortly after Cyprus acquired an independence it had not wanted, its elected representatives, Greeks and Turks, voted four to one in favour of applying for Commonwealth membership.

The motives were primarily economic—but no less valid for that. Throughout the Greek Cypriot campaign for Enosis (Union with Greece), which was largely an emotional urge for identity exploited by the Church and later by the Communists, the stock reply to British arguments against Enosis was: "Better life with a poor mother than with a rich stepmother." The Turkish Cypriots preferred the stepmother, but demanded partition, with all its disadvantages, to avoid what they saw as Greek domination.

When the 1959 agreements ruled out both Enosis and partition in favour of a guaranteed independence, Commonwealth trade preferences and continued access to Britain, where so many Cypriots had made good, had an obvious appeal.

Archbishop Makarios has always been reluctant to commit himself on the political future of Cyprus within the Commonwealth. Certainly he has never spoken of Cypriot obligations to Britain or to any other member. With his eyes hitherto on a limited objective, i.e., unfettered Greek Cypriot control of the island, he has looked mainly for Afro-Asian support. Rumours that he might have accepted a Commonwealth peace-keeping force were without substance.

Yet it would be wrong to suppose that the Cypriot attitude generally to the Commonwealth is cynical. I remember seeing the portrait of Queen Victoria side by side with the heroes of the Greek War of Independence in Cypriot homes. Fervent Enotists proudly displayed their O.B.E.s. Lawrence Durrell tells the story of a Greek wartime guerrilla leader who sent a telegram to Churchill saying: "Old man, be wise. Cyprus promised to Greece is thrice British." There is nothing incompatible in Cyprus's having the closest links with Greece—and for that matter with Turkey—and still being a member of the Commonwealth.

But the hard fact at present is that no Cypriot nation exists—and there is no willingness yet to compromise in making a multiracial society. Ironically enough, the growth of Enosis feeling and of Turkish reaction were both encouraged by Britain's tolerance throughout the colonial period of a system whereby Greek Cypriot secondary education was directed from Athens and its Turkish Cypriot counterpart from Ankara. Britain missed a great opportunity in not creating a University of Cyprus. Such a foundation, with faculties for Greek, Turkish, Arabic and archaeological studies, together with local economics and sociology, and interchanges between Athens, Ankara, Cairo and other Middle East capitals, might have been a most steadying and unifying factor in the East Mediterranean. S.M.

Left: President Makarios examines the terrain during a visit to forces in the Kyrenia Mountains in Cyprus

ASPECTS OF MIGRATION

294 **CANADA**

Over two million people have emigrated to Canada since 1945. The picture on the right shows five of them—the Simmons family of London, Ontario. G. T. and Dorothy Simmons have three sons, Andrew (aged 13), John (10) and Michael (3). The Simmons came to Canada in 1955 from Market Drayton in Cambridgeshire where Mr Simmons was farming. He is now manager of a modern farm operated by a Canadian magazine. He believes British farmers have a chance of making a good living in Canada if they are prepared to work hard. The opportunities open in all branches of activity to those prepared to work hard are frequently stressed by immigrants in Canada. Mr William Ives, formerly of Colindale, Middlesex, is a case in point. He went to Canada with £19 in his pocket and now owns three stores and employs 12 people. "The ease with which you can emigrate to Canada," he says, "is not conducive to a true appreciation of the great privilege it is to live and work in Canada." Another point which newcomers remark on is the friendliness of neighbours who do everything possible to make the immigrant feel part of the community he has joined. Unobtrusive but very effective is the work of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, both in its offices in Britain and Ireland, and at the "receiving end" in Canada, where there are 150 immigration offices ready to assist.

NEW ZEALAND

The street corner illustrated above might be in a residential district in Britain, but for the snow-clad mountain in the background. It is in fact Westown in New Plymouth, Taranaki. Immigration into New Zealand is currently between 13,000 and 15,000 annually. Of these about one-third come in under the Government's assisted passage scheme. For British subjects entry formalities are few.

AUSTRALIA

Emigrating in the modern style, the group seen right at London Airport is setting off for Australia in a jet airliner. Since the war over 750,000 British people have come to settle, many taking advantage of the assisted passage scheme. But it is not only the British who are helping to build the Australia of the future. The New Australians come from a wide variety of other lands in Europe.

GREAT BRITAIN

The situation is reviewed by **DR DAVID PITT,** *a West Indian who is a London County Councillor and member of the new Greater London Council*

The Commonwealth Immigrants Act was a very unfortunate piece of legislation and has undermined the Commonwealth concept.

It meant that Britain ceased to be an open market for Commonwealth labour and, moreover, the conception of every Commonwealth citizen of Britain as the Mother Country was rudely shaken.

The West Indians were the people most immediately affected by the Act. To them, the determining factor was one of colour. The exclusion of the Irish from the application of the Act was seen as a clear case of racial discrimination by the non-white sections of the Commonwealth.

This was highlighted by the type of propaganda used by certain members of Parliament in their clamour for the Act and it was reinforced by some of the speeches made in supporting it. The Government's refusal to legislate against racial discrimination lent further support to this point of view.

In fact, the only saving feature in the whole sorry episode was the vigorous opposition to the Bill which was led by the late Hugh Gaitskell in the House of Commons. His action was important in that it showed that there were British people who were not blinded by prejudice, who saw the Commonwealth in its true perspective and understood its value.

Left: West Indians arriving at Waterloo Station in London from the last ship to dock in Southampton from the West Indies before the Commonwealth Immigrants Act came into operation two years ago.

It is generally accepted that the underdeveloped sections of the Commonwealth are badly in need of trained personnel, and that this country must try to help them in this respect by allowing some of our skilled folk to work in Commonwealth territories and also by training Commonwealth citizens for work in their home countries. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act gives free entry to persons from the Commonwealth possessing skills that are of value to this country, whereas persons without skills must have vouchers and are admitted on a quota basis.

This means that Britain is willing to take from the other Commonwealth countries such skilled personnel as they possess, while being unwilling to take unskilled labour, many of whom would benefit from being in this industrialised society with its opportunity for acquiring skills, so that they could return to their homelands better equipped and better able to make their contributions to the development of their countries. This suggests that Britain considers only her own interest and not that of the rest of the Commonwealth.

Thus again the Commonwealth concept has been jolted, because what is required is the opposite to what is envisaged under the Immigrants Act. Instead of being willing to deplete the rest of the Commonwealth of their scarce skills, Britain should be willing to take unskilled workers from the Commonwealth, train them and send them back as skilled men.

Before the passage of the Act, West Indians were doing quite a lot of this. Many West Indians came to this country in 1954 and 1955 without any certificate and by 1960 had obtained degrees. This can no longer happen, because although the Immigration Officers always admit students, a person who has no certificate and cannot therefore enter any University or College for Higher Education has difficulty in proving to an Immigration Officer that his motive in coming to this country is to study.

But the section of the Act which is most detrimental to the Commonwealth is the part of the Act dealing with deportation. This gives power to the Home Secretary to deport any Commonwealth citizen who has not lived in this country for longer than five years, who is convicted of any offence punishable by imprisonment, and who is recommended by a magistrate for deportation. The power is very wide, and the recommendations for deportation have been just as extensive.

When the Bill was being debated, Parliament was told that that was to enable the really bad eggs, who were giving their community a bad name, to be sent back. Yet one of the first recommended deportations was of a young woman who was found guilty of shoplifting. The uproar in Parliament and in the country prevented this particular deportation. But it is a sobering thought that but for that agitation, she would have been deported. The Home Secretary had already confirmed it.

Similar recommendations are being made every day. What the Act has done is to give an opportunity for many magistrates to display their prejudices and they have taken full advantage of it. It has also had the unfortunate effect of causing a deterioration in the relationship between the coloured community in this country and the police. This is very much to be regretted.

The deportation clauses in the Commonwealth Immigrants Act have created a group of second-class citizens who are tolerated, subject to good behaviour. As most Commonwealth students fall into this group, it can have a frustrating effect on student life. They are bound to fear the consequences of taking a leading part in student rags, and in such pressure groups as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Committee of 100. As playing a full part in the student life of their universities is one of the necessary elements in the training of students this restriction on their activities is to be regretted.

In this connection, it is worth remembering that the deportation clause applies to all Commonwealth citizens, white and coloured and that all Commonwealth students suffer from this handicap. So far there is no evidence of students being recommended for deportation, but the threat is there and is hampering to their full participation in student activities.

The danger of deportation also has the effect of making integration more difficult, because no one can play his full part in the life of a community while looking over his shoulder to make sure he does not err in any way.

The community is also frustrated by it, because the ultimate objective must be the absorption of the newcomers. This involves accepting them as integral members of the community and treating their wrong-doers in the same way as others. The community's aim must be to rehabilitate criminals. Deportation is an act of rejection. Anyone subject to deportation must hold himself back from the community and not give his all. The community is thus the loser.

The Commonwealth Immigrants Act does nothing to help the problems associated with immigration. Those problems are in the field of housing and race relations. It does nothing about housing, and because it is regarded as a colour bar act it has tended to worsen race relations. It should be repealed, and replaced by a new act, which has been agreed with the other countries of the Commonwealth. There should also be an Act outlawing racial discrimination, and positive steps should be taken to help integrate the Commonwealth Immigrants into the community.

The Commonwealth can be a great force for good in the world. Its multi-racial character is one of its strongest features. Britain as the senior partner can further the Commonwealth concept or destroy it. The country's shortage of labour and the consequent presence of large numbers of immigrants from the Commonwealth provides an opportunity for furthering it. Let it be used to the full.

DEFENCE OF LIBERTY

by **REAR-ADMIRAL A. D. NICHOLL, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.**
Defence Correspondent of the BBC External Services

296 In the past, up to the outbreak of the Second World War, the British Commonwealth was self-sufficient as regards defence. The security of the Commonwealth countries, including the mother country, depended mainly upon the command of the sea, and the forces of Britain supplemented by those of the Dominions and Colonies were able to ensure this. Since the war the whole picture has changed due to the growth of Soviet armed strength and the advent of the hydrogen bomb. Today, no single country can stand alone.

When, in the early years after the war, the threat of Soviet military power was realised, the only solution was for the free nations to unite in joint defence. The formation of Nato, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, in Western Europe and the Atlantic, of Cento, the Central Treaty Organisation, in the Middle East, and of Seato, South-East Asia Treaty Organisation, in the area of South-East Asia, were the direct result of the Communist military threats. The advent of the hydrogen bomb brought eventual realisation to the Western Powers and to Soviet Russia that nuclear war would mean disaster for both sides and that the waging and winning of war was no longer a realistic policy.

The Western Powers, therefore, adopted as their military object the prevention of war by maintaining an effective deterrent. The main element in the deterrent is the nuclear striking power wielded by the United States with a valuable contribution from the United Kingdom. The deterrent will continue to be effective as long as the Soviet leaders are convinced that no matter what action they might take, even including a surprise nuclear attack, they would be unable to prevent the West from retaliating with devastating effect upon the Soviet homeland.

A no less vital element in the deterrent is the maintenance by the Western Powers of land, sea and air forces of sufficient strength to counter any Communist thrust or minor aggression on land or at sea which if not halted might spread into world war. Nato has built up a continuous defence system stretching from northern Norway to southern Turkey. Cento has no command structure similar to that of Nato, but military co-ordination is exercised by a military council. Strategic striking forces could be provided by the United States Sixth Fleet deployed in the Mediterranean, from American air bases in Turkey and from the British base in Cyprus. Seato also has no centralised command structure but striking power could be provided by the United States Seventh Fleet, by American Air Forces based on Okinawa and Guam and by the British Far Eastern Fleet. There is also the Commonwealth Strategic Reserve in Malaya, including British, Australian and New Zealand land, sea and air units.

It is against this world strategic background that the mutual defence arrangements of the Commonwealth must be seen. The security of the Commonwealth is essentially bound up with the security of the free world. There are at least two members of the Commonwealth in each of the defensive organisations of the free world and Britain is a member of all three. Britain and Canada are in Nato, Britain and Pakistan in Cento and Britain is with Pakistan, Australia and New Zealand in Seato. This ensures that no rigid lines are drawn between the respective treaty areas.

Above: Commonwealth military Heads confer at the Chief of the Imperial General Staffs' Conference in 1963 at the Staff College, Camberley, Surrey. From left: Maj.-Gen. Rikhye, Military Adviser to the Secretary-General, UN; Maj.-Gen. Tunku Osman, Chief of Staff, Malaya; Lieut.-Gen. Sen, G.O.C.-in-C., Indian Southern Army. Maj.-Gen. Welby-Everard, G.O.C. of the Nigerian Army; Brigadier Crook, C.O.S., Jamaican Defence Force and General Sir Richard Hull, Chief of the Imperial General Staffs

The security of Australia and New Zealand, for example, clearly depends upon the success of Nato in Europe in preventing war, for it is impossible to visualise a war involving Western Europe and the Atlantic which would not soon spread to the whole world. The area of the south-west Pacific has its own special defence problems. In this vast area there is no possibility of building up a land front as in Western Europe; the only practicable form of defence is to maintain mobile land, sea and air units to reinforce any threatened point. The integrity of Malaysia is of vital importance to Commonwealth defence in the south-west Pacific and the land, sea and air forces of Australia and New Zealand at present deployed alongside those of Britain in Malaysia contribute directly to the security of their homelands. The Anzus pact between Australia, New Zealand and the United States is of special value in linking America to the defence of the area.

Experience in the cold war has shown that the Communists intend to seize every opportunity of improving their military position in the world as long as in each particular case they see no risk of it leading to nuclear war. Moreover, the Communist moves in the cold war, episodes such as the Berlin blockade and the rockets in Cuba, are a test of the will-power of the free peoples. If a crucial test came at sea the Commonwealth might suddenly find itself in the front line. *Continued on page 298*

Above: An outline map of the world shows the dispersion of the various Commonwealth countries. The numbered areas are: 1, Great Britain; 2, the Mediterranean area—Cyprus, Malta and Gibraltar; 3, West Africa—Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gambia; 4, East and Central Africa—Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Kenya, Nyasaland (soon to be Malawi), Northern Rhodesia (soon to be Zambia), Southern Rhodesia and Mauritius; 5, India, Pakistan and Ceylon; 6, Malaysia; 7, Australia and New Zealand; 8, Canada; and 9, the West Indies

Above: Two Canadian vessels, HMCS *Bonaventure*, the aircraft carrier at the rear of picture, and the destroyer HMCS *Restigouche*, arrive at Valletta, Malta on their way back to Canada. They had been on duty in the Mediterranean and Cyprus

Left: Exercising off the coast of Malaya are, from foreground: HMS *Duchess*, HM New Zealand Ship *Otago*, HM Australian Ship *Quiberon*, HMS *Albion*, HMS *Cambrian*, HMS *Salisbury*, HM Australian Ship *Vendetta* and HMS *Plymouth*

DEFENCE OF LIBERTY

continued from page 296

For example, it is conceivable that to exert political pressure for some limited objective Soviet Russia might decide to use the threat of her enormous fleet of submarines to restrict or hold up shipping in some specific area such as the Indian Ocean. In the circumstances it would be vitally important for the forces of the Commonwealth countries, especially their naval and air forces, to take most vigorous action to defend their shipping and their trade. Clearly, the extent to which the United Kingdom forces could meet such a situation would be less than in pre-war days; moreover, the United Kingdom has commitments, which cannot be set aside, in her alliances with many free world countries that are not members of the Commonwealth. In the situation envisaged, local forces would probably have to bear most of the weight in the early stages. The stronger they were and the more effectively they were able to work together, the more quickly such a threat could be met and countered.

There are two main factors in the world political situation at the present time: the aim of the Communist powers to dominate the world and the desire of the peoples of colonial territories for independence. The interplay of these two factors creates problems of great intensity in the realm of defence. It has for many years been Britain's policy to prepare the peoples in her colonial territories for self-government and sovereign independence. But one of the main preoccupations of the British Government is the danger that a newly emerging nation, if not sufficiently stable and well-governed, may gain its freedom only to lose it to Communism. Recent events in the south-west Pacific and in East Africa have emphasised the dangers.

The members of the Commonwealth are free and independent countries, under no obligation to give military assistance to any other Commonwealth country. The members, however, think alike in matters of world politics and are equally the champions of freedom and the enemies of oppression and aggression. Together they possess a world-wide chain of bases and a considerable total of land, sea and air forces organised on similar lines and trained to work together. Their governments and forces are able to communicate with one another in a common language and the processes of consultation are familiar.

The Commonwealth therefore is potentially a unique asset in the defence of the free world. Its individual members, in giving assistance to world defence, make their most effective contribution to their own security and integrity. In the defence plans of the free world, freedom of movement at sea is second only in importance to the deterrent. The Commonwealth has an exceptional contribution to make.

Above right: Royal Navy helicopters are used against terrorists in the Malaysian jungles **Top:** Ninety recruits of the 2nd Battalion Northern Rhodesian Regiment on passing-out parade in barracks at Lusaka **Right:** Heavy armoured cars of the 4th Royal Tank Regiment are seen after their successful operations against rebel tribesmen in the Dala-Thumier Road area, north of Aden in the South Arabian Federation

CONQUEST OF ILLITERACY

By **DR FREEMAN STEWART,** *a Canadian, who is the Director of the Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit*

Above: The Duke of Edinburgh speaks to students after he had opened the London Overseas Students' Centre of the British Council in Portland Place last year. The centre has a non-residential membership of nearly 3,000 students, over two thirds of these come from Commonwealth countries

Left: Dr Veni Jha (centre) a former Director of the Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit, talks to Dr D. V. C. Misra from the University of Sagar, India, and his wife and son at a British Council reception for Commonwealth scholars in London. Dr Misra came to study geographical research under the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan which offers Commonwealth students places at British universities

The idea of Commonwealth co-operation in education is not new; in various informal ways it has been going on for a long time and has contributed substantially to goodwill and understanding throughout the Commonwealth. University students have always been a nomadic group, when they could find or borrow the money to pursue their studies in new places, and the use of a common language has made it easier for them to further their studies in a university in a different part of the Commonwealth. Special co-operative arrangements have also existed for some time between some British universities, particularly the University of London, and new universities in developing member countries of the Commonwealth. For many years the exchange of teachers has taken place between older members of the Commonwealth.

But education has acquired a new significance in our time; it is now being recognised as an essential ingredient of the economic and political development of a modern nation. As Mr Nehru said in New Delhi two years ago: "At the back of everything, at the base of it, lies education." It had been an accepted thing for newly developed countries to be given economic aid and technical assistance by more technically advanced countries, often in the form of capital grants and equipment—factories, dams, ships, locomotives and foodstuffs—yet, as Mr J. K. Galbraith, until recently US Ambassador to India, put it: "There is a certain sterility in economic monuments that stand alone in a sea of illiteracy. Conquest of illiteracy comes first."

Thus it is not surprising that Commonwealth Economic Ministers, attending a Trade and Economic Conference in Montreal in 1958, proposed that a Commonwealth Education Conference be convened to explore ways in which Commonwealth governments might co-operate in assisting each other through their educational systems. This conference, called the First Commonwealth Education Conference, was held at Oxford in July, 1959. The delegates, representing their governments, recommended that Commonwealth countries co-operate in four general ways:

(1) through a Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan;
(2) in the training and supply of teachers;
(3) in technical education;
(4) in vocational education.

The Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan is probably the best known of these schemes of co-operation. At the Oxford Conference Britain offered to make available 500 scholarships, Canada 250 and other members of the Commonwealth a further 250, making a total of 1,000. Remarkable progress has been made in reaching this target, and the number holding such awards last year was 820. The largest number of awards was made to Indians (144), the next two being Pakistan and Canada, each holding 68. Over 50 per cent. (467) of the awards were held in Britain, and 25 per cent. (220) were in Canada. Funds for the scholarships are provided by the governments of the countries offering the awards, and selection of the applicants for them is made by advisory committees in the host country on which the universities are fully represented.

Other forms of co-operation under formal Commonwealth schemes relate to the training of foreign teachers in a host country, and the sending of trained teachers, largely at the secondary school level, to a developing country; training in the teaching of English as a second language; vacation courses for teachers; training in textbook writing; the training of technical and vocational teachers; and, indeed, co-operation in any aspect of education where a sharing of resources or ideas would appear to be of advantage and would be practicable. These arrangements, carried out with government funds and under government sponsorship, are dealt with on a bilateral basis, that is, between the two governments concerned, such as Britain and Nigeria or Canada and Malaysia. Co-ordination in the planning of the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan is carried out by the Association of Commonwealth Universities, under the sponsorship of the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee which publishes an annual report on the plan.

The other varied forms of co-operation in education are co-ordinated to some extent, and considered as an overall Commonwealth activity through the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee. This committee, which meets every month, consists of a representative of each Commonwealth government and a representative of the British dependencies. The chairmanship is taken by the representatives in rotation, each chairman presiding over two meetings. The committee has a small secretariat, called the Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit, with offices in Marlborough House in London. The senior staff of the unit are recruited for temporary service (about two or three *continued on page 300*

CONQUEST OF ILLITERACY *continued from page 299*

years) from different Commonwealth countries, on the nomination of their governments. The first Director was the vice-chancellor of an Indian university; the present Director is a Canadian; and the Deputy Director a Nigerian.

In addition to serving as a centre of reference for discussions on educational co-operation in the Commonwealth and receiving periodic reports on progress in the different schemes, the committee sponsors two-week conferences of experts in particular educational subjects. There have been two such conferences to date: one, on the Teaching of English as a Second Language, was held at the University College of East Africa, Makerere, Uganda, in January, 1961, with an attendance of some 70 delegates; the other was on the Teaching of Science in Secondary Schools, held at the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, in December, 1963, and attended by 120 delegates. These conferences, with careful advance preparation, provide an opportunity for Commonwealth representatives, selected by their governments, to study an agreed subject in depth and with special reference to the needs of developing countries. Reports of the discussions have been widely distributed, one on the Ceylon Science Conference being published earlier this month.

Present schemes of Commonwealth co-operation in education arose from the first conference held at Oxford in July, 1959. On the invitation of the Government of India, a Second Commonwealth Education Conference was held in New Delhi in January, 1962. Its purpose was to review the progress that had been made in the various schemes of assistance and co-operation agreed upon at Oxford, and there was general satisfaction with the developments that were taking place. While the needs were much greater than the help available, the evident spirit of co-operation, and the readiness to share ideas and information, provided hope and encouragement to countries that were trying to do a great deal in a very short time and with very limited funds.

A Third Commonwealth Education Conference will be held in Ottawa this summer, from August 21 to September 4, with the Canadian Government acting as host. As at Oxford and Delhi, it will be a working conference, with government delegations divided into committees to discuss present methods of co-operation and ways to expand and improve them. Special attention will be given to the operation of the Scholarship and Fellowship Plan in relation to the needs of developing countries, and also to the determination of priorities in setting up programmes of technical education. An agenda item, proposed by Canada, called " Co-operative Arrangements for the Planning and Development of Educational Institutions " promises to be of particular interest as does another, appearing for the first time at such conferences, on co-operation in the uses of mass media in education. Members of the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee, in planning the conference, were convinced that if a programme does not move forward, it will decline; in consequence, they have tried to design an agenda which would not only be a review of present activities but also an effective means of exploring new methods of co-operation.

Thus, through formal government action, there has now been established an elaborate network of Commonwealth relations in education which serves as a unique foundation for mutual understanding and goodwill. The Commonwealth, which has many shared beliefs in education, political institutions and in the freedom of the individual, as well as the advantage of one widely used language, affords its members an unusual opportunity to pool their resources and ideas for their mutual benefit. The delegates who proposed these various schemes at Oxford in 1959 have reason to be pleased with the way they have developed; by common consent, and through education at all levels, new links are being forged which will strengthen the best of old associations and lead to new and stronger ones.

Above: The campus of a branch of the University of the West Indies in St. Augustine, Trinidad

Above: In front of the main building of the Kumasi Technical Institute, Ghana
Left: The Marlborough Primary School, Blenheim, New Zealand

Above: Staff of the University of Ibadan, Western Nigeria
Top: Pupils on a civil engineering survey course in front of the Kenya Polytechnic, Nairobi

ALL FORMS OF ATTRACTION

By SYLVIE NICKELS

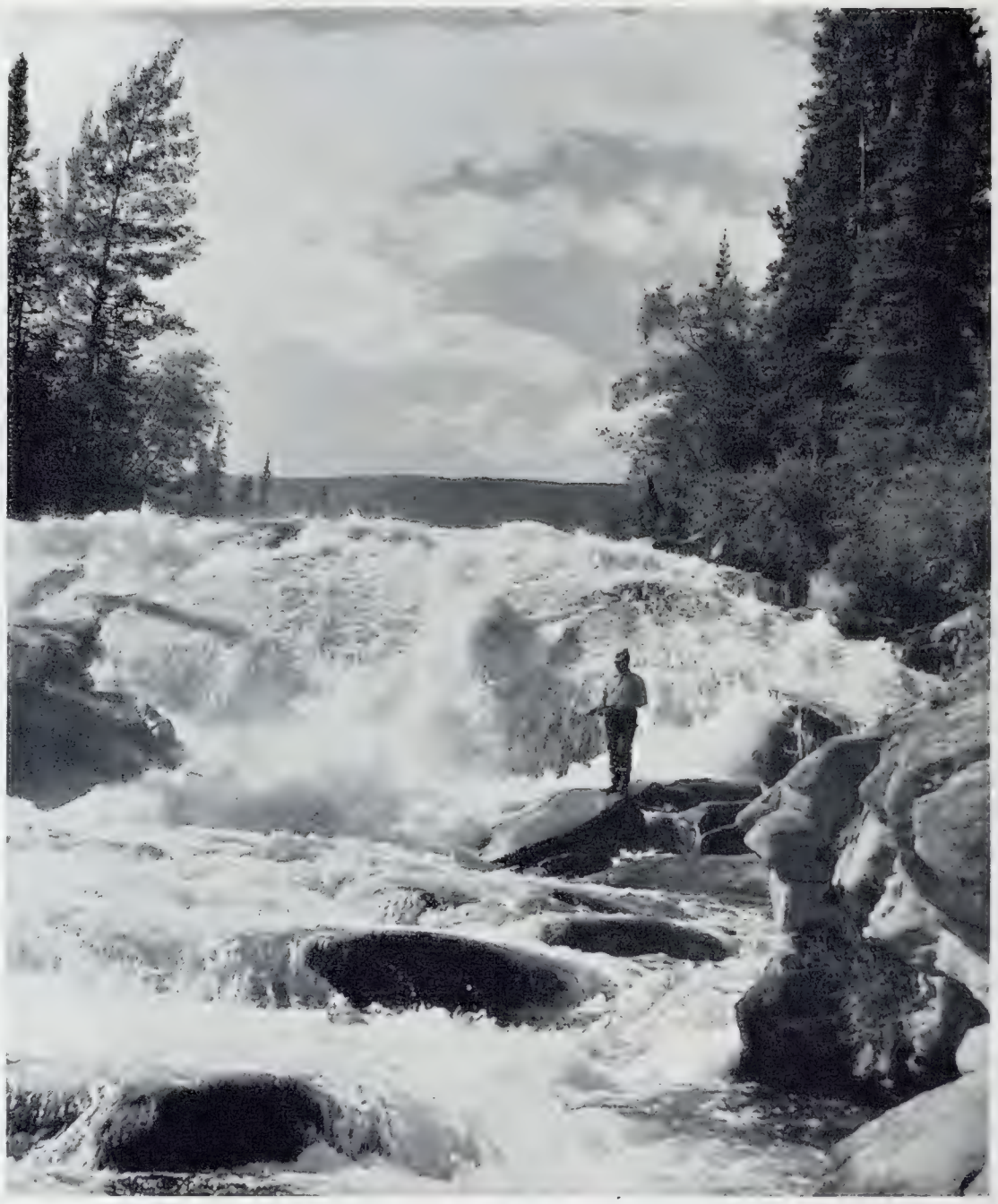
302 The 11½ million square miles (give or take a few) which constitute the Commonwealth, and the 700 million citizens who inhabit them, can produce between them any number of record-breaking facts topographically, economically and in most fields of human activity. From the travel point of view they can offer every conceivable form of climatic, scenic, sporting and cultural attraction, even if their peculiarities do not quite rise to the expectations of the small boy who began digging a hole in his back garden, intent on reaching Australia where he was convinced everyone walked upside down!

Despite the disappointing normality of its inhabitants, Australia, like the rest of the Commonwealth, offers a rare crop of attractions, most of them on a gigantic scale, of which the Great Barrier Reef may be the best known. There are 1,250 miles of it along the north-east coast of the continent, flaunting its beaches, its fishing and water sports facilities on a scale with which the northern hemisphere would find it difficult to compete.

The great outdoors provides Australia's travel theme, its beaches producing that race of tall, bronzed life-savers (you will find some in Jersey each summer, supervising the surfing), its wide open spaces ranging from the tropical rain forests of the north-west to the desert lands of the centre to the ski-ing centres within four hours' drive of Melbourne. Half-day, full-day, short-duration and interstate tours operate from all main cities. A six-day itinerary from Cairns in North Queensland, for example, covers everything from the jungle to the Great Barrier Reef's Green Island where you can visit the steel chamber of the Underwater Observatory set on the sea bed. The cost of £27 19s includes accommodation and meals.

Natural splendours also come high on the list of pleasures in New Zealand whose boundaries, though they may not exceed Britain's by much, manage to enclose most of Europe's scenic variety, from Alps which do not fall far short of the Swiss giants to a cauldron of thermal activity which easily outstrips—and outsmells—anything that Iceland can produce. In this kind of country, the regular local routes operated by the National Airlines Corporation of New Zealand and a number of small private airlines offer scenic marvels which local housewives on a shopping expedition may take for granted, but which in Europe hardly exist outside the private charter field. An 11-day tour taking in Milford Sound and the Southern Alps costs, all-in, £69 15s ex-Christchurch; for a nine-day tour of the North Island Highlights, including of course the geyser country of Rotorua, the cost is £53 15s ex-Wellington.

About a dozen flying hours to the north-west of New Zealand, and you are just about half-way to London. This is not, however, the first thought that occurs to you as you land in Calcutta, Delhi or Bombay to meet the very different attractions of India. Some of these attractions I described in two recent issues of *The Sphere* (April 11 and 18). If one has to sum up the impressions of this vast sub-continent in a few phrases, it is the history, the culture and the colour *continued on page 305*



Above: Elephants in the Masai Amboseli Game Reserve in Kenya. Mount Kilimanjaro, which is over the border in Tanganyika and 19,340 ft. high, is in the background
Right: Waterbuck in the National Park, one of the great attractions in Nairobi
Top: Fishing amid splendid scenery at Otter Falls on the Alaska Highway in Canada's Yukon Territory

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ALL FORMS OF ATTRACTION *continued from page 302*

which stand out even above the snapshot memories of scenes that range from some of the highest peaks in the world to some of its longest beaches. The domestic network of Indian Airlines helps considerably to overcome the frustrations of time versus distance, but for those with more leisure there is an excellent " travel as you like " rail facility offering unlimited travel in air-conditioned class (or, where not available, first class) for 30 days, costing little more than £40. Circular tour rail tickets on self-selected itineraries also afford substantial reductions. Note, too, the festivals of India, which are great in number and prodigious in colour, for it is more than worth planning one's journey to coincide with some of them.

Flanking India to the north-east and north-west lie the two wings of Pakistan, while Ceylon dangles down like a pendant into the Indian Ocean to the south-east. In Pakistan the western territory is the greater in size and also in tourist interest, ranging from relics of Mogul glories to the utter quietude of hill stations thousands of feet up under the Asian sky. An unusual accommodation facility in Pakistan is the tourist rail cars, complete with sleeping and living accommodation and cooking facilities; the cars can be detached at any railway station and remain there as long as required. The contrasts with the scenic charms of Ceylon are great indeed, with its tropical lushness and far-famed beaches fringed with palms. The monuments and artistic treasures are great in this stronghold of Buddhism, but the calm and clamour of Hinduism is strongly felt too. Special concessionary rail tickets available to holders of " tourist introduction cards " give 14 days' unlimited travel at a cost of £11 5s first class.

Without wishing to deny East Africa either its fine beaches or its big game fishing, it is the national game parks and reserves which I found quite unforgettable. I missed the mass migrations of Serengeti National Park, but I did score half-an-hour's silent communion with a leopard in Lake Manyara Park (both in Tanganyika) among much else, and an afternoon stalking lions by Land Rover on the outskirts of Nairobi. Uganda's Queen Elizabeth and Murchison Falls National Parks are pleasures for me yet to come, along with the Royal Tsavo National Park and Amboseli Reserve in Kenya. For travellers short of time, one of the joys of East Africa is the convenience of air travel to remote splendours that might otherwise prove completely *continued on page 306*

Top: On the north coast of Jamaica are fine white sand beaches and crystal-clear waters **Above:** The view from Mackinnon Pass, which is in New Zealand

ALL FORMS OF ATTRACTION *continued from page 305*

inaccessible in the time. Thus East African Airways arrange some excellent round trips from all main centres in East Africa, lasting anything from a couple to several days. Tours by road (self-drive or chauffeur-driven) with United Touring Company can also span anything from a few hours upwards, covering any one or more of the East African countries.

In West Africa—alas, still unknown to me—lie Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone. Due north, half a continent away, we touch fleetingly on Europe for a glimpse of the sun-baked but at present sadly strife-torn island on which Aphrodite first set foot after her birth from the sea. Legends apart, Cyprus can lay claim to some of the earliest traces of western civilisation.

Civilisation travelled west, and we can follow it, across Europe and across the North Atlantic to Canada where, for all the 20th century streamlining, we can still find the pioneer spirit busy beating the backwoods wilderness into submission. Most of us, however, prefer to view this kind of scenic raw magnificence in comfort, and Canada makes sure that we can. Rail reductions which, according to time of travel, may provide you with 2,800 miles of travel for a mere £14, must provide one of the best bargains on railways anywhere. Coach facilities, similar to those in America, offer unlimited travel for $99 during 99 days. Hotels such as the Banff Springs and Jasper Park Lodge, framed by the craggy splendours of the Rockies, look out over scenery which defies description.

Canada has the Commonwealth's only section of the Arctic Circle, which makes it sound a farther cry than it really is from the Caribbean, a mere couple of thousand miles to the south of Montreal. Down there in Jamaica, we are back on the beaches among the waving palms, with every facility imaginable for enjoyment and sports possibilities which range from river rafting (a Jamaican speciality) to horse racing, cricket to crocodile hunting.

The Caribbean is excellent island-hopping territory and you can follow the entire string of successive archipelagoes arching down to the coast of Venezuela. The last two gems in this particular necklace bring us to the end of the Commonwealth tour: Trinidad and Tobago, whose history and traditions may have their roots in Britain, but whose colour and character is locally produced from that balmy blend of sun, sand and irrepressible high spirits.

Top: A detail of the Nagda Temples near Eklingi, Udaipur, one of the many historic buildings in India

Above: A parade of life savers on the sands of Bondi Beach near Sydney in New South Wales

Useful addresses

Australian National Travel Association, 22 Old Bond St., W.1; Canadian Government Travel Bureau, 19 Cockspur St., S.W.1; Ceylon High Commission, 13 Hyde Park Gardens, W.2; Cyprus High Commission, 93 Park St., W.1; East Africa Tourist Travel Association, Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, W.C.2; Ghana High Commission, 13 Belgrave Square, S.W.1; Government of India Tourist Office, 21 New Bond St., W.1; Jamaica Tourist Board, 6-10 Bruton St., W.1; New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, New Zealand House, Haymarket, S.W.1; Pakistan High Commission, 39 Lowndes Square, S.W.1; Sierra Leone High Commission, 33 Portland Place, W.1; Trinidad and Tobago High Commission, 51 South Audley St., W.1; Uganda Tourist Association, Uganda House, 58 Trafalgar Square, W.C.2.

Some Commonwealth airlines operating international services

Air Ceylon, 21 Cork St., W.1; Air India, 17-18 New Bond St., W.1; BOAC, Stratton House, Piccadilly, W.1; British United Airways, Portland House, Stag Place, S.W.1; British West Indian Airways, c/o BOAC; Canadian Pacific, 62-65 Trafalgar Square, W.C.2; Cyprus Airways, c/o BEA; East African Airways, Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, W.C.2; Ghana Airways, 8 New Bond St., W.1; Malaysian Airways, c/o BOAC; Nigeria Airways, 32 New Bond St., W.1; Pakistan International Airlines, 45 Piccadilly, W.1; Qantas Airways, Piccadilly, W.1; Sierra Leone Airways, c/o BOAC; TEAL (Tasman Empire Airways), c/o BOAC; Trans-Australia Airlines, Sabena House, 36-37 Piccadilly, W.1; TCA/Air Canada, 24-25 New Bond St., W.1.

Some shipping services

To East Africa: Union Castle, 19-21 Old Bond St., W.1; British India Steam Navigation Co., 1 Aldgate, E.C.3; Messageries Maritimes, 72-75 Fenchurch St., E.C.3; Holland-Africa Line, 118-127 Park Lane, W.1.

To the Far East: P. & O.-Orient Lines, 14-16 Cockspur St., S.W.1; Anchor Line, 9 Haymarket, S.W.1; Messageries Maritimes (as above): Ellerman Lines, 29-34 Cockspur St., S.W.1; Lloyd Triestino, 35 St. James's St., S.W.1.

To Australia and New Zealand: P. & O.-Orient Lines (as above); Messageries Maritimes (as above); Lloyd Triestino (as above); Australia Line, 30 Haymarket, S.W.1; Shaw Savill Line, 11a Lower Regent St., S.W.1; New Zealand Shipping Co., 14-16 Cockspur St., S.W.1; Nederland Line, 120 Pall Mall, S.W.1.

To Canada: Canadian Pacific, Trafalgar Square, W.C.2; Cunard Steamship Co., 15 Lower Regent St., S.W.1; Greek Line, 2 Duke St., St. James's, S.W.1; Hamburg-America Line, 87 Jermyn St., S.W.1; Holland-America Line, 120 Pall Mall, S.W.1.

To the Caribbean: Cunard Steamship Co. (as above); Elders & Fyffes, 15 Stratton St., W.1; Royal Netherlands Steamship Co., 118-127 Park Lane, W.1; French Line, 20 Cockspur St., S.W.1; Jamaica Banana Producers, Plantation House, 135 Fenchurch St. E.C.3; New Zealand Shipping Co. (as above).

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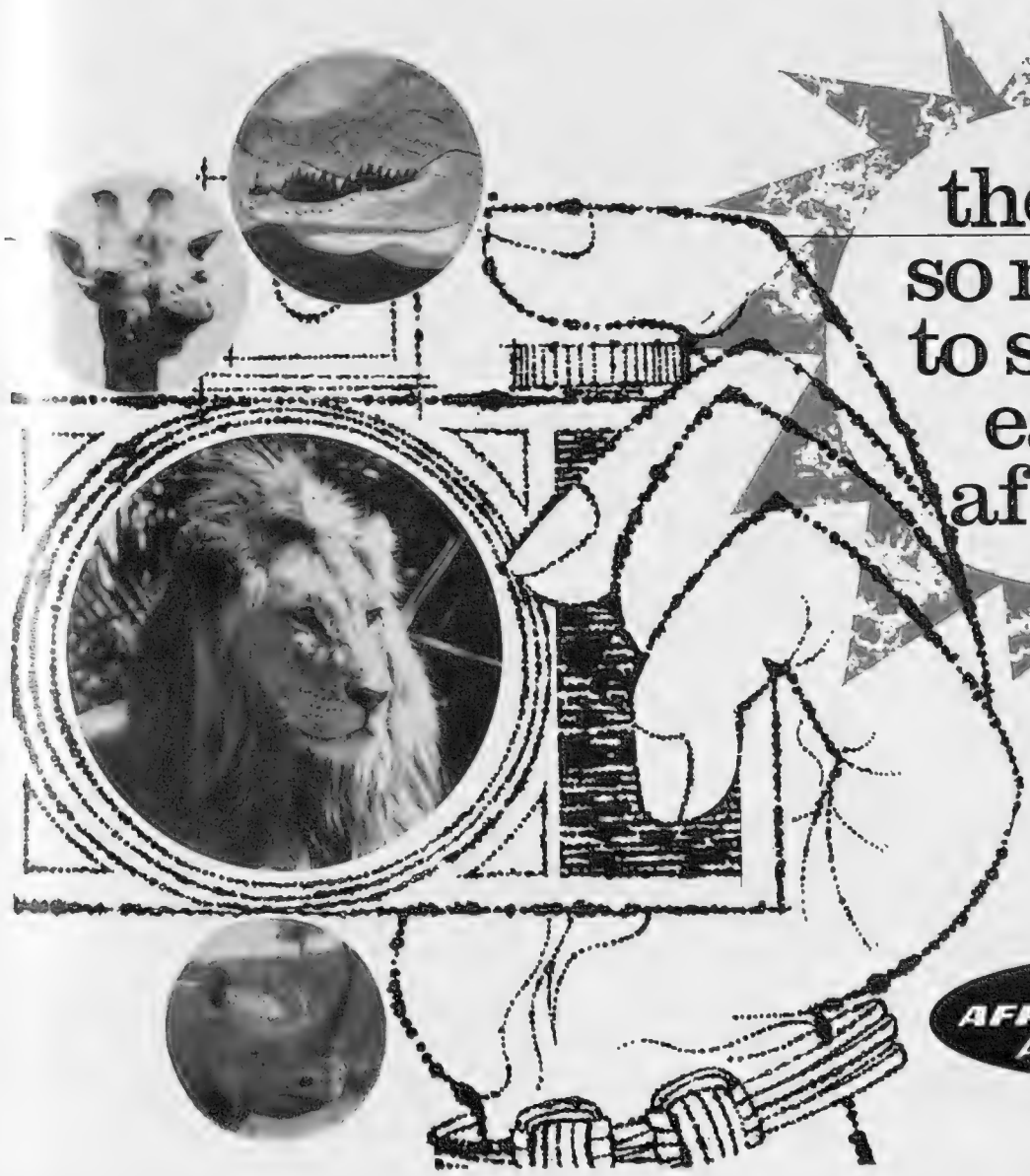

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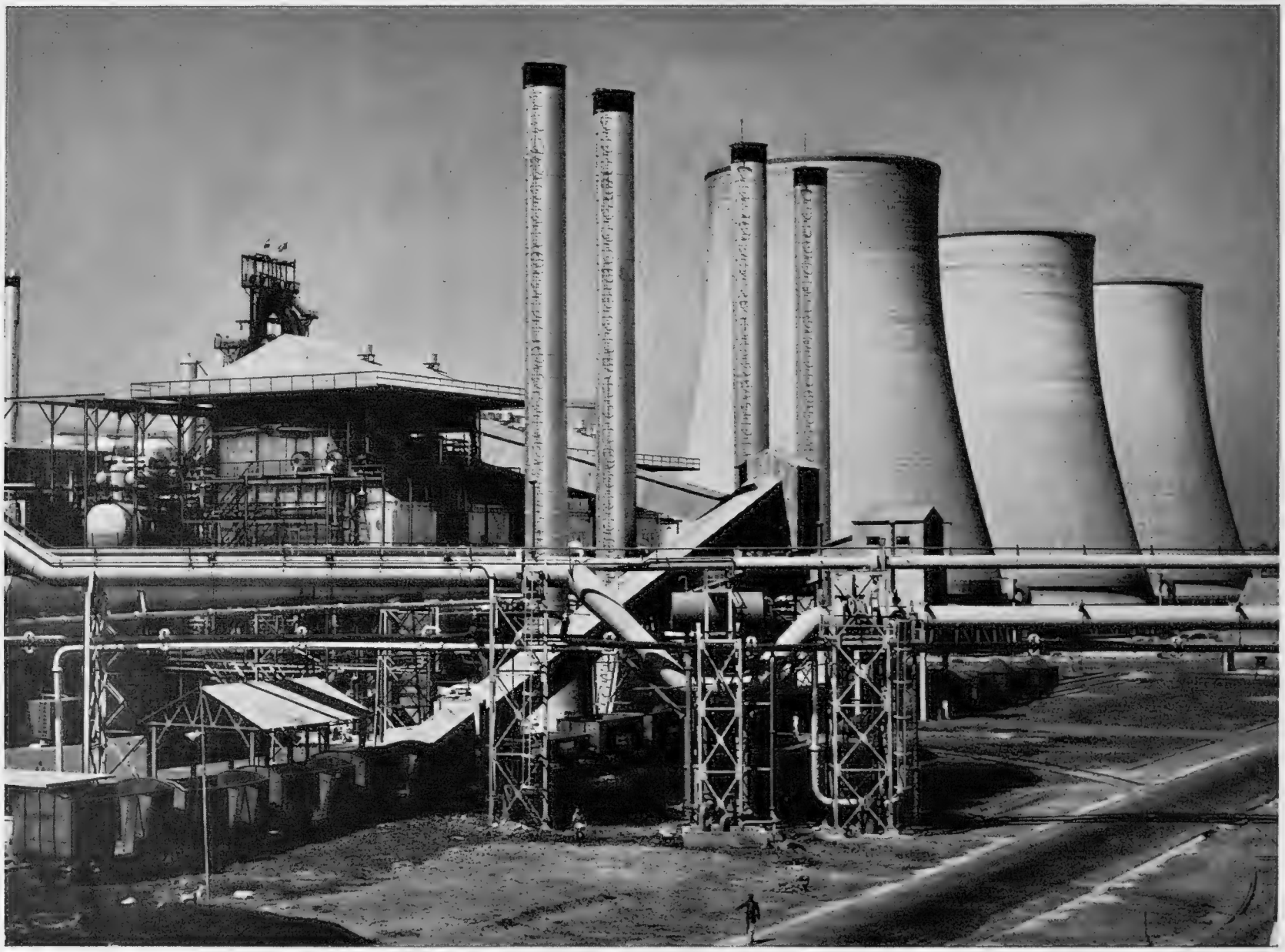
TRADE AND AID

by **BRIAN MACDONA,** *Director, Barclays Bank, D.C.O.*



The steel plant at Durgapur, West Bengal. A consortium of 13 UK companies, the Indian Steel Construction Company (ISCON), completed the £105 million project in 1959

The Commonwealth is basically a political unit, not an economic organisation. This fact is often overlooked because the unit is so loose and in so constant a state of evolution. The element that remains thoroughly British about the Commonwealth is that it operates without written rules and even without stated aims. There are many advantages in this flexibility and general informality but there is also a danger: relationships can easily degenerate into a mixture of a social club and debating society or can even, in the eyes of at least one observer, become "a gigantic farce." To avert these dangers the Commonwealth needs that vitality which can come from the life-blood of a healthy economic relationship between its members. All those who believe that the Commonwealth is an influence for good in the world—weak perhaps at present but nevertheless potentially strong—will wish to find remedies for any signs of anaemia.

Mutual trade is the main economic bond between independent nations. Intra-Commonwealth trade remains of immense importance, but there is no doubt that the trend since the early 1950s has been downward in relation to total world trade. There has been no absolute decline but members of the Commonwealth have been buying a steadily smaller proportion of their needs from each other and there is no clear evidence that this drift has been halted. This situation arises not only because the United Kingdom has failed to achieve as high a rate of expansion of trade as other leading countries, but also from the fact that she has increased her trade with the Commonwealth very slowly compared with her business with foreign countries. Trade between other Commonwealth countries remains of relatively small importance: new links have been established and some growth has been seen but this barely affects the total.

The United Kingdom has always been the trading centre of the Commonwealth. Traditionally she has imported half of her raw materials from overseas, mainly from Commonwealth countries, and has paid therefore by exporting manufactured goods and by providing services such as shipping, insurance and banking. In the main this picture is unchanged today and, with the important exception of Canada, all the larger Commonwealth countries still have Britain as their major trading partner in her position as the largest importer of food in the world and one of the main buyers of raw materials. She has also done more than any other industrialised country to provide a market for the manufactures of the under-developed countries, particularly by her relatively liberal import policy towards the textiles of India, Pakistan and Hong Kong. Britain also remains the largest supplier to nearly all the Commonwealth countries, which provide some of her most valuable markets; for instance, her second most important export market is Australia, which took nearly £236 million worth of British goods in 1963, or about ten times as much per head as was taken by the United States, where the average income is more than double. It is worth noting that Britain is also the largest supplier to Commonwealth countries where there is no Commonwealth Preference, for example, Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda.

The fact remains that the trade between Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth is not as important as of old. Traditional channels of trade are not quickly altered but Britain is now growing a rather higher proportion of her food *continued on page 310*

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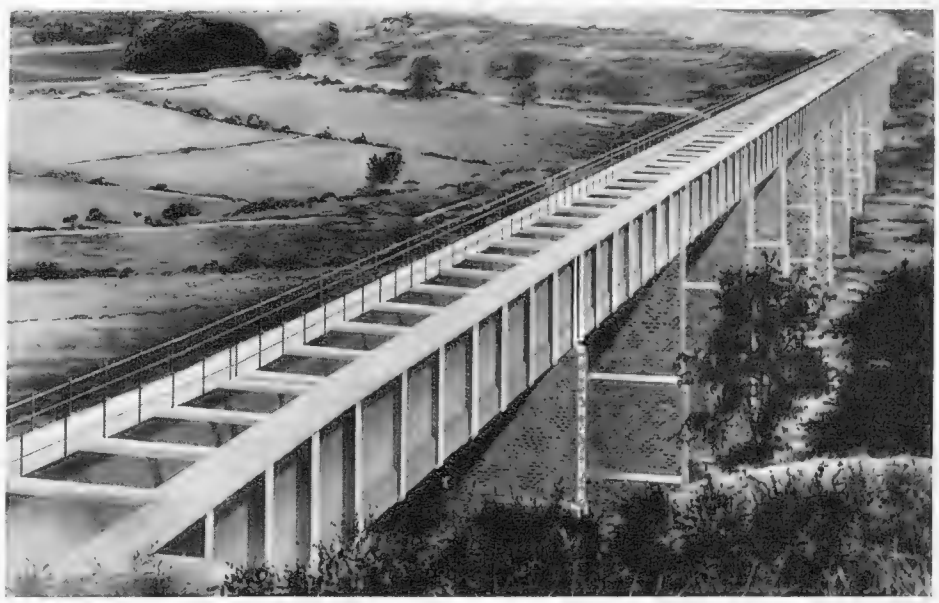
TRADE AND AID *continued from page 308*

310 and as her population only increases at a modest rate she does not provide a complete market for the increasing output of foodstuffs from the Commonwealth. Her intake of raw materials is also becoming less important, partly due to the increasing use of synthetics but also to the relatively slow expansion of British industry. Furthermore, the overseas Commonwealth countries are industrialising and no longer require from Britain many of the formerly imported types of manufactured goods. All these and similar factors help to explain the decline in intra-Commonwealth trade. But is there any way in which this can be halted or even reversed?

There are two direct methods of tackling the task of increasing intra-Commonwealth trade. The first obviously is by making the economy of the United Kingdom more vigorous so that it competes more successfully in overseas markets and at the same time provides a larger outlet for the products of overseas countries. In this way the size of the British trade cake could be increased, but this is far too wide a subject to be discussed here. The second is to attempt to increase the Commonwealth slice of the cake. This implies some kind of preferential treatment of trade in both directions between Britain and the overseas members. Many may argue in favour of such action, but it is doubtful whether agreements to this end are within the realms of practical politics at the present time. Most of the developing Commonwealth countries are independent nations and have made it clear that they do not favour any form of trade discrimination except that which is in favour of the under-developed countries as one whole group. Increases in Commonwealth Preference would be opposed by all the outside world and by many within the Commonwealth.

More promising, and more obviously consistent with the general good, are steps for greater Commonwealth co-operation in providing a better background to trade. Above all there is scope for greater mutual assistance in economic development. It is by now a platitude to say that finding a way to narrow the increasing gap between the "affluent industrialised" lands and the "needy—underdeveloped" nations presents the greatest economic problem of the world, one which is so vast that many countries succumb to the temptation to wait for others to give a lead for truly international action. It is no criticism of the admirable work of the World Bank group, however, to doubt whether international action on the scale required can come soon enough. Furthermore, effective steps in a rather narrower sphere could pave the way to efforts on a wider basis. Commonwealth development would not be, in intention or in effect, discriminatory and its results would benefit directly a large part of the underdeveloped world and might well make an indirect contribution to the remainder.

The under-developed Commonwealth countries are seeking three forms of aid from their more fortunate friends: trade, technical assistance and capital investment. Although the first of these may not be a *continued on page 312*



Above: New Zealand's major export to Britain is rounded up in a paddock at Glentanner Station not far from Canterbury. The sheep are Merino loggets more than one year old. For the year ended June, 1963, 266,000 tons of frozen lamb were exported to Britain

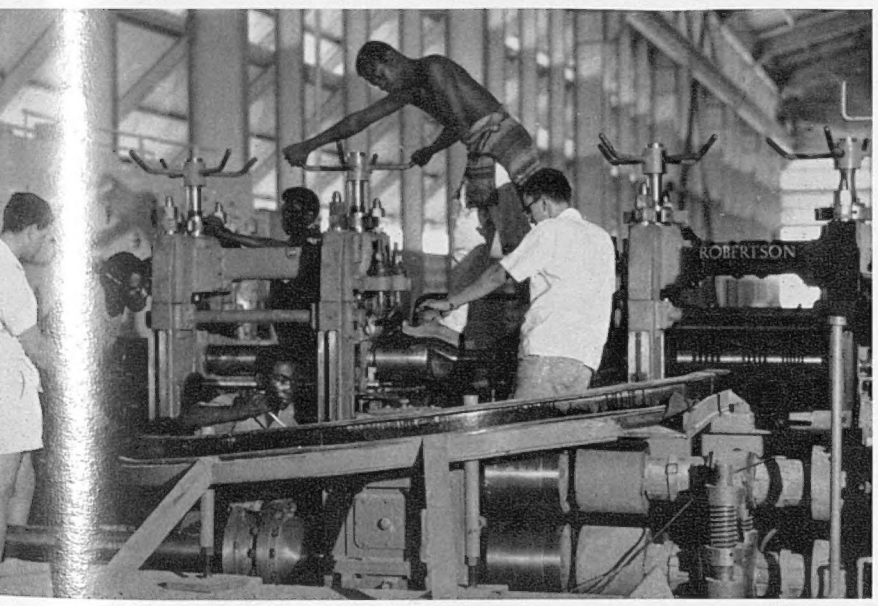
Top right: A stage in the production of uranium at Algom Uranium Mines in Ontario, Canada. While the mineral is being dissolved in acid, the air passages that keep the pulp in agitation sometimes get blocked. Here the valve is open for a discharge

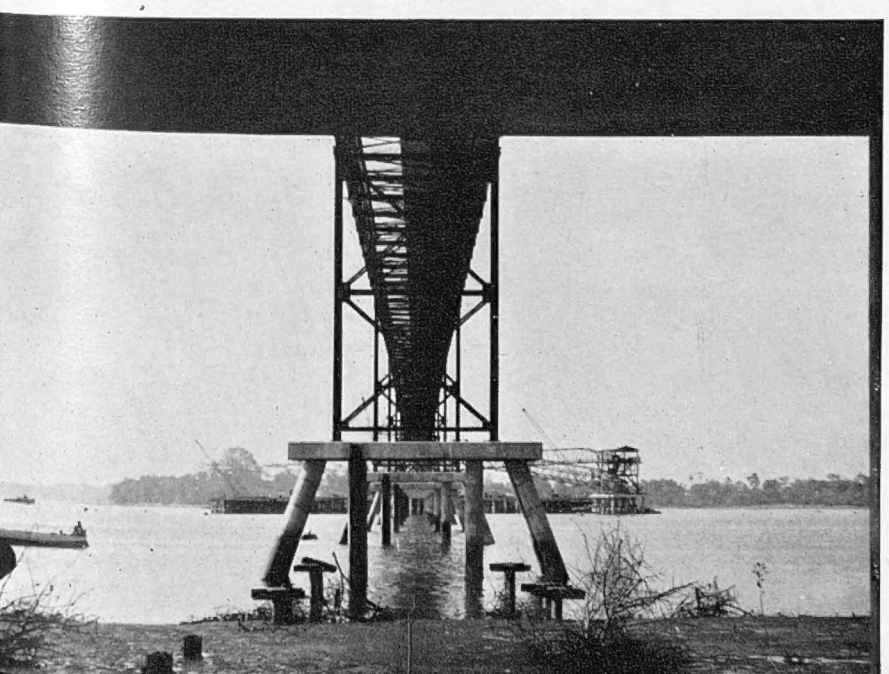
Above left: An aqueduct built at Shantisagar for the Mysore Public Works Department by Gammon India Ltd.

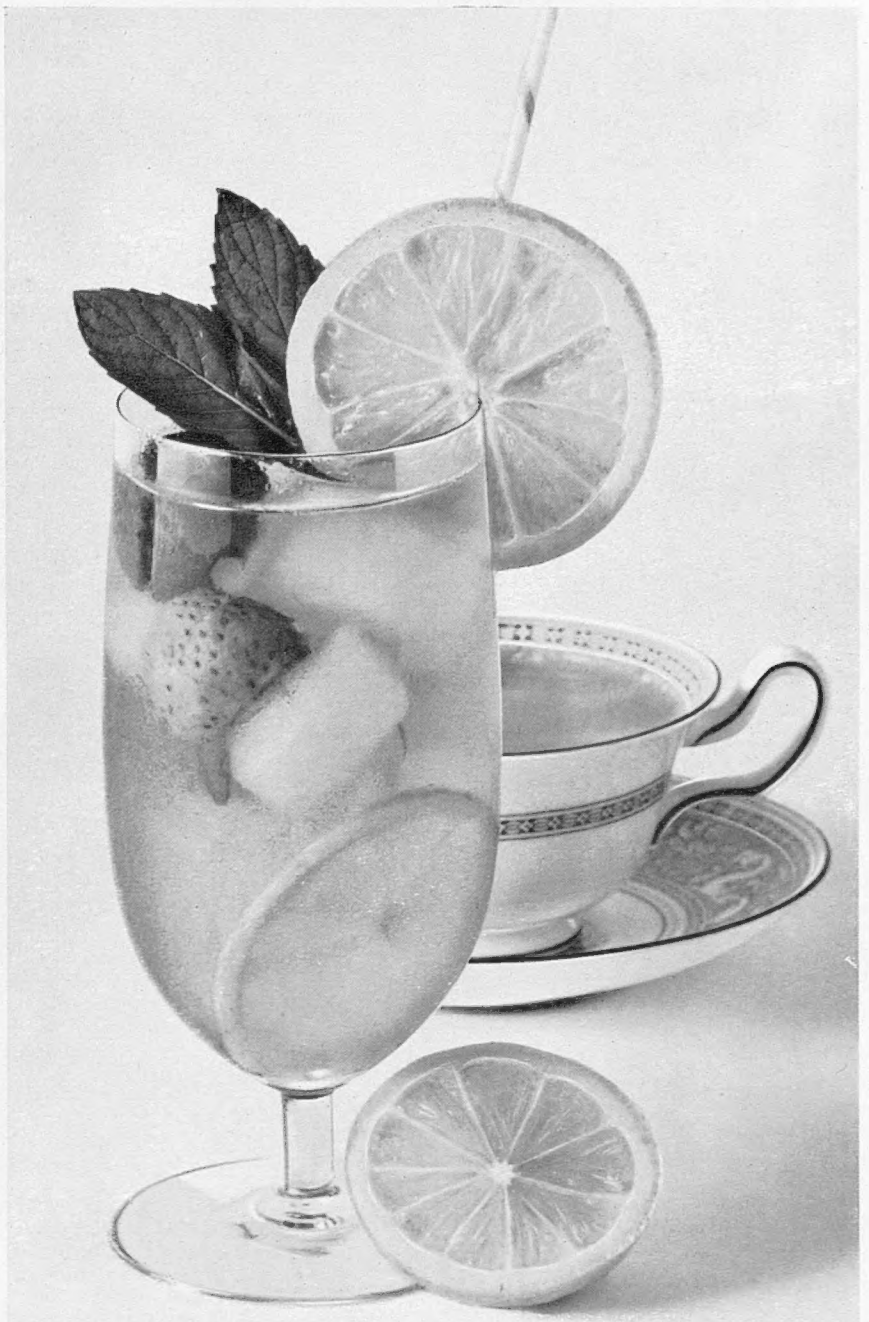
Above right: In Ghana, in the finishing mill at the huge Kwame Nkrumah Steelworks at Tema. The construction engineers for the mill were Parkinson Howard and Co. Ltd. The rolling mill is one of ten supplied by W. H. A. Robertson of Bedford

Left: The titanium pigment factory at Burnie, Tasmania, operated by Australian Titan Products Proprietary Ltd.

Right: This photograph shows the underside of a pier built at Pepal on the Sierra Leone River by Taylor Woodrow of Sierra Leone Ltd. It was to be opened last week by Mr Albert Margai, Sierra-Leone's new Prime Minister, and is named after his brother, the former Premier







TEA BRINGS ZING TO THE EVERYDAY

Now tea adds a new taste—a new tangy excitement—to your life. Tea grows up—goes gay! Here is just one example of what you can do with the mundane cuppa. But make sure you pick the finest tea for the job. **Indian Tea.**

Fresh Fruit and Mint Tea Punch (Cold)

1 pint water *1½ tablespoons tea* *6 ozs. sugar*
¼ pint lemon squash *½ pint orange squash* *Ice cubes*
½ sliced orange *½ sliced lemon* *2 ozs. sliced strawberries*
Mint leaves

Bring water to the boil, pour on to the tea and allow to brew for 3-5 minutes. Stir and strain into a bowl containing the sugar. Stir until dissolved. Add the lemon and orange squashes. When ready, pour over the ice cubes in a punch bowl and add the sliced fruit and mint leaves.

FREE BOOKLET Get more of these exciting tea recipes (and for Indian food as well) in a free booklet called "New Ways with Indian Tea" from The Tea Board of India, India House, London, WC2.

don't forget—
for the finest tea in the world—
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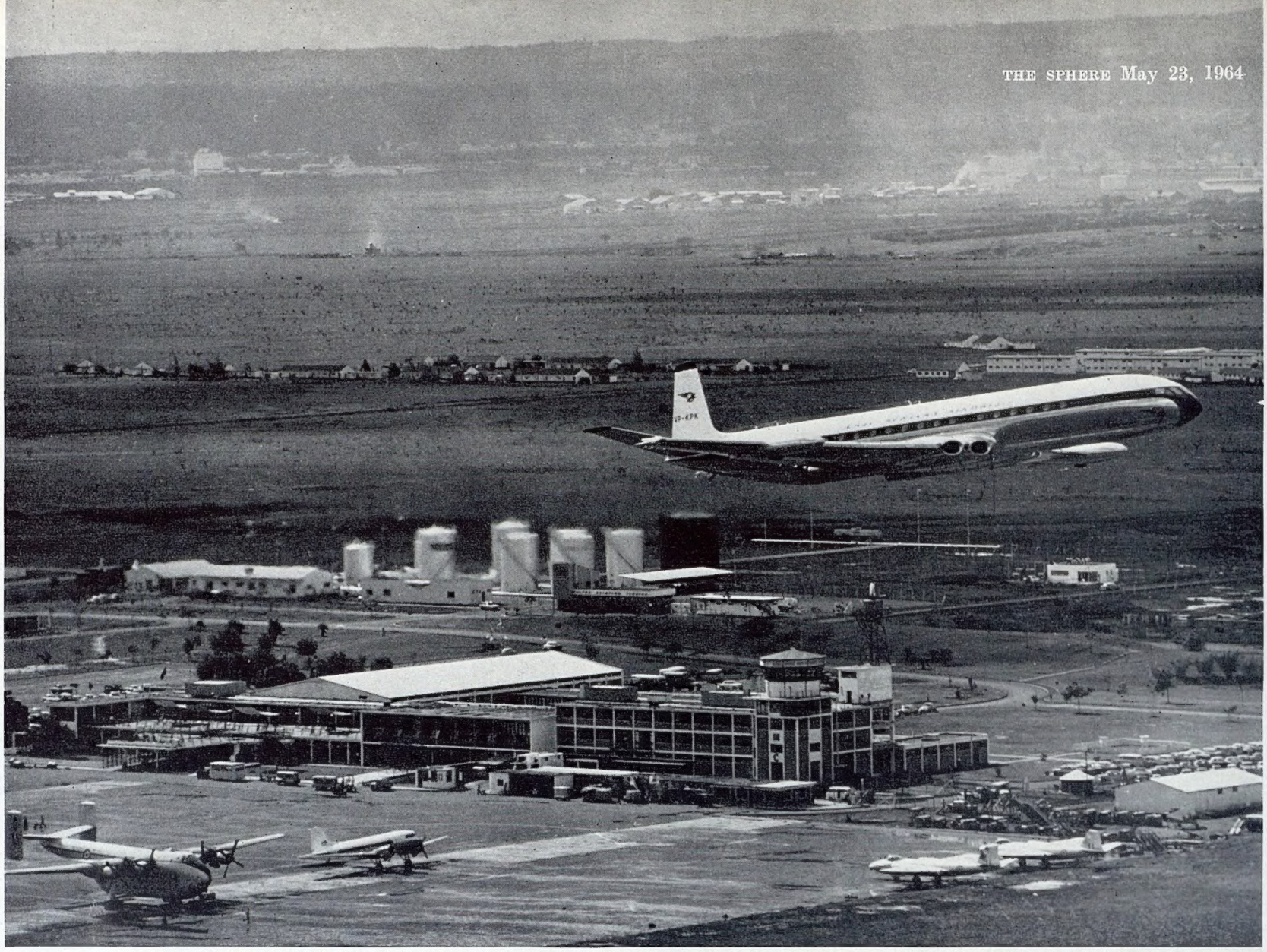
ISSUED BY THE TEA BOARD OF INDIA



TRADE AND AID

continued from page 310

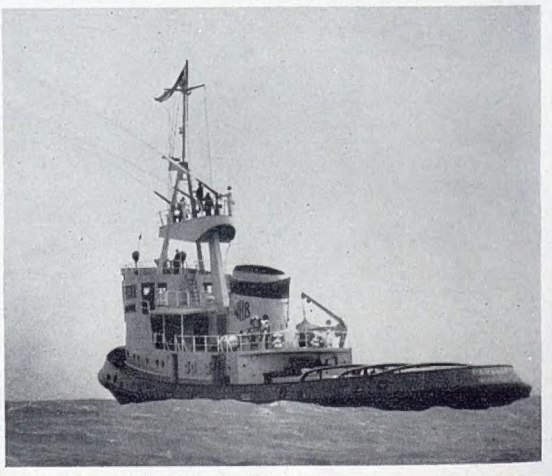
Above: A Comet 4 of East African Airways is seen just after take-off from the airport at Nairobi in Kenya
Right: In India picked tea leaves are transported from the tea garden to the factory
Bottom right: The seagoing tug *Parahaki* is able to manoeuvre oil tankers up to 87,000 tons for the Whangarei Harbour Board, New Zealand. The tug was built by Brooke Marine Limited of Britain

promising method of aid within the Commonwealth—at least in the short run—much is being done and much more could be done in the other two fields. Great efforts have recently been made within the Commonwealth to ensure that technical and professional staff are recruited, or retained, for service in the newly independent countries until such time as these have trained their own nationals to take over such work. Since 1961 Britain has had a Department of Technical Co-operation which deals with these requirements, which spends over £30 million a year and which obtains good value for its money.

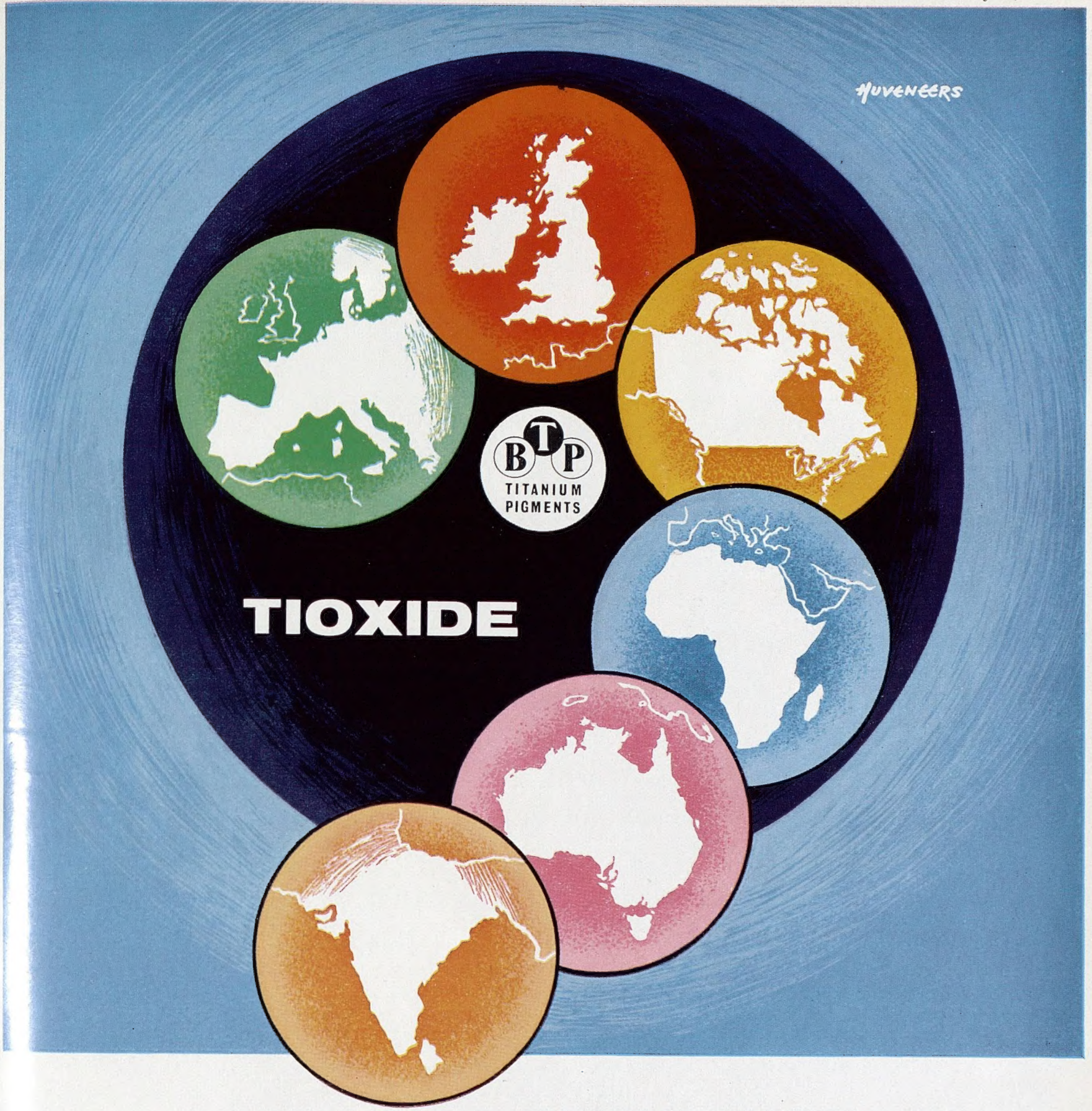
It is in the field of capital investment that most remains to be done. It has to be admitted that the Commonwealth probably cannot, from its own resources, find all the money that is required. Nearly half the non-Communist under-developed peoples live within the Commonwealth and only Britain is likely to be an important source of capital from within the family circle: Canada, Australia and New Zealand provide useful support in inter-government aid but remain net importers of private investment capital. Though the whole task may be too great for Britain alone, it must be evident that, in investment as with trade, she has the central role to play. Total aid disbursed by the Government has still not risen above an annual rate of £160 million (though commitments are now much higher and should soon mean a higher level of disbursements): this is not only totally inadequate in relation to needs, but does not compare particularly favourably with the efforts of the other affluent countries. Britain remains cautious and niggardly in this respect and seems unwilling to take the initiative. It is not a question of money alone: more speed and enthusiasm might help almost as much.

British private investment in the under-developed countries (mainly Commonwealth) is estimated to be about £150 million a year. In this field Britain still plays the leading role. Private investment is based on confidence which arises from knowledge of a country and its people. Fear of the unknown is the greatest restraining factor inhibiting expansion of private investment from overseas in developing countries. Here, too, there is need of a lead from the British Government: a Commonwealth code should be drawn up to standardise both incentives and safeguards for investors so as to remove the non-commercial risks of investment. Agreement on such a code should not be too difficult and must bring excellent results in increasing the flow of investment.

To the objection that we are already investing overseas as much as our balance of payments position permits, there can be only one answer: we must improve our balance of payments, which is not a static pre-ordained position but one arising from policies pursued. To achieve this might initially involve a mild form of austerity at home: the long-term rewards would be in the permanent increase in our Commonwealth trade: in the short term there would be the achievement of a sense of purpose which would come with a drive for Commonwealth development.



Published Weekly by ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPERS LTD., Ingram House, 13-15 John Adam Street, London, W.C.2, and Printed in England by KELIHER, HUDSON & KEARNS LTD., Hatfields, London, S.E.1. SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1964. Second-Class postage paid at New York, New York.



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